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A Q method study of how women of Chinese descent construct themselves in relation to popular stereotypes of Chinese women.

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A Q METHOD STUDY OF HOW WOMEN OF CHINESE DESCENT
CONSTRUCT THEMSELVES IN RELATION TO POPULAR
STEREOTYPES OF CHINESE WOMEN

by

Terry S.C. Chow

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
Through the Department of Sociology and Anthropology
in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1993

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Abstract

This study examines the self-perception of Chinese women, with respect to two popular stereotypes of Chinese women (the "China Doll" and the "Dragon Lady"), in the context of their most recent dating experience with a white male and how these women feel their dating partners perceive them with respect to the same stereotypes. Through the use of a Q sort study, 38 volunteer subjects sorted into four factors and one opposing view of how Chinese women perceived themselves and how they felt their dating partners perceived them. Differences among perceptions were analyzed using SPSSx (1986). Of the 38 Q sort participants, 16 participated in personal interviews that revealed: (1) popular stereotypes of Chinese women are undergoing change, (2) there are three coping mechanisms that Chinese women use when dealing with popular stereotypes of Chinese women (acceptance, negotiation, and rejection), and (3) the extent to which Chinese women assimilate in North American society is related not only to their acceptance of North American values and stereotypes but is also related to their lack of desire to date Chinese men.

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Introduction

Stereotypes and their resulting expectations have become an undeniable part of our day to day interactions. Like other racial stereotypes, the images of Chinese men and women in North America are based primarily on sweeping generalizations and false information which have considerable impact on the lives of those being stereotyped. Yet, there is a lack of research dealing with Asian stereotypes from the viewpoint of those being stereotyped (Yee 1973). Of the available studies on Asian stereotypes, only specific aspects of Chinese and Japanese stereotypes have been explored--that of educational attainment and scholastic achievement (Sue and Kitano 1973)--and usually do not include women (Nipp 1986). How Chinese women perceive their experiences is largely neglected and ignored.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine how women of Chinese descent perceive themselves with respect to popular stereotypes of Chinese women. By recording and analyzing the different perceptions of Chinese women through the use of Q methodology and semi-structured, open-ended interviews, the goal is to establish an understanding of how women of Chinese descent socially construct their identity in interaction with white male dating partners with respect to ~~current~~ stereotypes of Chinese women and how these women in turn deal with this imagery. This study was inspired by the personal experiences

of the researcher (a Chinese woman) who, after realizing studies on Asian stereotypes from the viewpoint of Chinese women simply do not exist, sought to fill the gap left by social science research with this thesis as a starting point.

Social construction provides a means through which the experiences of Chinese women are understood: how Chinese women construct their identities within their own experiences and how stereotypes affect their experiences and choices. Social construction is a useful tool in exploring how Chinese women position themselves in relation to the popular stereotypes dictated by the dominant North American society.

People construct different identities for different contexts. Dating is one of the many contexts in which expectations are negotiated in interaction. For this study, the context of interracial dating is chosen because of the widespread belief that popular stereotypes of Chinese women are based on white male constructions. The specific task of identifying what Chinese women perceive to be white male expectations of them (as women and as Chinese) are investigated.

In this thesis, current stereotypes of Chinese women are examined along with a historical look at stereotypes of both Chinese men and women in North America which have undergone many dramatic changes over the past 100 years. Particular attention to gender differences in stereotyping is examined in order to understand why these images are so pervasive in

society and why it continues to be so difficult for women of Chinese descent (in North America) to claim identities as their own (Fujitomi and Wong 1973).

The current stereotypes of Chinese men and women are based on the "model minority" portrayal from the mid-sixties. Changes in stereotypes of Chinese men and women have occurred since the beginning of this century. This brings into question whether there are more changes in store for Chinese stereotypes as the century draws to a conclusion. With the social changes that have occurred over the past few decades (e.g., the increasing number of Chinese immigrants to North America, the increasing social mobility of the Chinese and Japanese, and the increasing participation of Chinese people in the community) the question arises of whether popular images will also change with the increased visibility of the Chinese. This is addressed through a discussion of how Chinese women perceive popular stereotypes of Chinese women (and Chinese people in general) and the perceived changes in these stereotypes.

This thesis uncovers how racial stereotyping of Chinese women appears in perceptions of subtle and not-so-subtle expectations of them in an interracial dating context. Some of the racial images and expectations involved in interracial dating are discussed (in the Q sort results) as part of the spectrum of interpretations uncovered. The reactions of Chinese women in interaction with white men in a dating

context depend on how images are dealt with by each individual woman. Whether they choose to resist, accommodate, or modify their behaviours with respect to popular stereotypes of Chinese women is dependent on how they construct particular dating situations. This is examined in a discussion of coping strategies used by Chinese women when dealing with the stereotypes imposed upon them.

Over the past two decades the phenomenon of the "banana syndrome" (white inside, yellow outside) was coined to describe Asians (people with yellow skin) who internalize the dominant ideologies of (white) North American society to a point where their Asian identity is lost. The assimilation of non-white members into white North American society is measured by the extent to which dominant ideologies are internalized (Kuo 1982). Dating attitudes are said to be a product of the socialization process and have their roots in cultural institutions and ideologies (Whyte 1990:67). The women in this study have dated white men which reveal they have internalized certain dating ideologies. The assimilation of Chinese women in North American society and its relation to the acceptance of popular stereotypes are explored in a discussion of assimilation and its affect on Chinese women, stereotypes, and dating.

This study hopes to contribute to a better understanding of how racial stereotypes affect the social construction of Chinese women in certain social arrangements (such as

interracial dating). This study may contribute to our understanding of Chinese female stereotypes and stereotypes of Chinese people in general. There is a need for research in order to understand the problems and set-backs experienced by people who have the unique position of not only being female in a male world, but also being people of colour in a white ruling society. In Canada, this is experienced by Chinese women who straddle two cultures. Only the voices of Chinese Canadian women can speak for them. This is a starting point.

Literature Review

One of the first things we notice about people when we meet them (along with their sex) is their race. We utilize race to provide clues about who a person is. (Omi and Winant 1986:62)

North American society is composed of people from many different ethnic and racial backgrounds. The Chinese are a part of this visible group, yet dominant interpretations of Chinese imagery in North America are often perpetuated through lack of knowledge and ignorance. Our society is infused with racial meanings and images. At any given point in time these meanings seem "natural." Events which require interaction (e.g. school, work, dating, and other social contexts) reinforce imagery and as a result reinforce stereotypes and expectations, regardless of their accuracy.

"Stereotype" is defined as the set of traits that is used to explain and predict the behaviour of members of a socially defined group (Stephan and Rosenfield 1982:92). Stereotypes may be either relatively true or false, negative or positive. People often rely on stereotypes to predict how others will behave. Part of the problem with stereotypes is that there is a range in conceptualizations: one set of universal stereotypes does not exist and the theme of these stereotypes is subject to interpretations (or dependent on sociological factors). Stereotypes are not a natural 'given'; the images are constructed through experience (or lack of) and other outside influences (e.g., media, education, etc.).

Stereotypes are essential attitudes which serve a function for the persons who hold them. They are, for the holder, collections of fundamental characteristics that apply to any individual within a specified group, but even the most fervent user of stereotypes would probably admit to the tendency toward exaggeration which prevail in such rigid perceptions (Ogawa 1971:3). Although inherently inadequate, stereotypes have been concocted and applied to every ethnic group.

Research on racial stereotypes has focused mainly on stereotypes of blacks and Jews. The available literature examines the historical events that have led to the persecution and discrimination of Jews and blacks. Most studies record the changes in stereotyping that have marked these two groups. Other visible minorities are often classified with blacks, but blacks and Asians have not endured the same historical indignities and do not suffer the same stereotyping.

It is often difficult to make generalizations about Asians since "Asians" are composed of many different groups. For example, it is difficult to make the same generalizations about the Koreans and Japanese, or the same generalizations about the Vietnamese and the people of India, or the Chinese and Cambodians. It is not just a matter of geography but one of cultural differences which at times may be great. For the purposes of this study, the Chinese will be the group examined

within the category of "Asian." This choice was one of convenience since the researcher, who is also of Chinese descent, could access and build rapport with the subjects.

Stereotypes often find expression in society through the media. They are readily observed in written works, especially in the fictional and nonfictional characterizations of minority groups in magazines, newspapers, and books (Yee 1973). Since the social structure within which the media exist is predominantly white, it would seem that the stereotypes that are expressed are reflections of the attitude of white society as a whole (Ogawa 1971:17). It is from this perspective that the past and contemporary stereotypes of the Chinese in North America will be discussed.

Until recently, few studies have been produced on the Chinese. The Chinese as a group are occasionally researched in cultural and ethnic studies (Chen and Yang 1986). Most studies, however, have dealt with immigration and job statistics which, in most cases, suit the needs of the government (Li 1988) and almost always exclude women (Nipp 1986).

A trickle of research has examined popular stereotypes of Asian (mainly Chinese) men and women in literature. The few studies include: stereotypes of Chinese Americans in U.S. social studies textbooks for elementary and secondary schools (Yee 1973), depictions of Chinese Americans in popular magazines (Fong 1989), Asian women authors fighting against

images imposed by (white) man (Ling 1989, 1990), and men and women in Asian American literature (Kim 1990).

According to Yee (1973), the dominant North American society perpetuates inaccurate stereotyped images and attitudes concerning the Chinese (and other people of colour) based on racial characteristics. The nature of stereotypes appears to vary according to the economic, political, and social climate in North America. As with most stereotypes, the perceptions more accurately portray the sentiments of the labellers rather than an accurate assessment of those being labelled (Kitano and Sue 1973:6). Anglos in North America have been notorious for their ill-treatment of non-Anglos. The Native Indian, the Negro, the Mexican, the Spanish, the East Europeans have all felt the heavy hand of Anglo discrimination and stereotyping (Ogawa 1971). The Chinese immigrant to North America is no exception.

Narrow stereotypical perceptions of and prejudice toward the Chinese have been so widely accepted that North Americans of Chinese ancestry do not perceive themselves with a meaningful identity (Yee 1973:99). Asian studies and the involvement of Chinese in North American history are barely mentioned or neglected completely. The available information reinforces stereotypical illusions. There is a lack of identity and understanding of Asian contributions and distinctions (Yee 1973). More Chinese are beginning to ask themselves who they are and if they must ignore and reject

their Chinese heritage in order to be considered and perceive themselves as Canadian. The term "banana," with its white inside and yellow outside refers to people of "yellow" skin who have adopted the values, ideals, and traditions of the greater white North American society, hence the "white" inside. This has developed over the past twenty years to characterize Asians who are either unfamiliar with or belittle their ethnic roots.

North American perceptions of what is Chinese have flip-flopped back and forth over time, mainly because the basic image has been a superficial one perpetuated by inadequate information and prejudice (Yee 1973:104). In the nineteenth century the Chinese were described as "one of the most wretched of all human species" (Fong 1989:iv). Chinese males in the early 20th century, prior to the "model minority" status, were depicted as sneaky, dishonest, uncivilized sub-humans in search of sexual prey (Fong 1989). To some extent ethnic and racial stereotyping follows a pattern. Different groups share many of the same stereotyped characteristics: they are viewed as too different to be assimilated into American society, and they are often viewed as sexually aggressive. This is apparent in depictions of the welfare collecting black rapist, the lazy Mexican pimp, and the sub-human Chinese in search of sexual prey (Ogawa 1971).

One of the most visceral images in the Anglo (male) mind is that of intercourse between a white woman and a man of

another race. Nothing strikes more at the white man's heart than "his women being molested by blacks, browns, or yellows" (Ogawa 1971:56). Predominant in the sexual responses of the white male is the "protection" of the white woman or the fear of the violation of the white woman. If, for the Anglo male, the white woman is the child-bearer, the continuity of a pure white race, then, the image of the non-white races having sex with the white woman and producing racially-mixed children elicits an emotional response.

[It is]...not uncommon to find some Anglo's stereotyping ethnic minorities in the light of sexual vulgarity. The inferior black and Mexican have been deemed creatures of ill repute, and a threat to white womanhood. Mexicans are motivated by animal urges to passionately attack white women. They are dogs who will mongrelize the Anglo race. Jokes circulate in Anglo communities about the size of the genitals of black males. As the legend goes, the black male possesses a penis that is far beyond Puritan dimensions. (Ogawa 1971:57)

The propensity for some white Americans to view minorities with regard to sexual aggressiveness stems from the Puritan heritage. Unrestrained sexual behaviour is considered characteristic of lower creatures and unnatural to man. Sex is the original sin. Nudity, promiscuity, or sexual immorality are evils which are delegated to the lower inferior species (Ogawa 1971). So, intuitively, for this same group of white males, a corollary to the inferior Chinese male stereotype had to be his sexual aggressiveness. Driven by a beastly sexual urge, the Chinese male would endanger the white female and the purity of the Anglo stock (Ogawa 1971).

This negative depiction continued into the first decade of the twentieth century but images of Chinese became increasingly favourable after 1910 and by 1940 the foundation, upon which the "model minority" of the 1960s was built, had been firmly established (Fong 1989). This elevation to "model minority" status marked a dramatic change in the popular image of Chinese men in North America. Supposedly, the Chinese (and Japanese) in North America have overcome their minority disadvantage and enjoyed favourable depictions as honest, obedient, industrious, family-oriented, conscientious toward school and achievement in education and employment. But with the elevation to "model minority" status, the stereotype of Chinese males underwent a dramatic transformation: that of the demasculinized male. The sexually aggressive stereotype of the past had to be altered since the Chinese were now socially accepted; the Chinese had become neighbours and in light of this, it was no longer possible to view the Chinese male as an animal wishing to rape white women. This dilemma was resolved by the stereotype of the 'Silent Oriental'--intelligent, industrious, shy, reserved, non-threatening Chinese male as incapable lovers, sexually immature, and "physically" small (Chin, Chan, Inada and Wong 1991). In this instance, the Chinese male is elevated socially, and, to prevent bastardization of the white race, is castrated. Non-masculinity permeates the stereotype of the Chinese male, depicted as "buck-toothed, wimp, caricatures" (Chin et. al.

1991:xxxii). This type of man is not a threat to the white woman. And by using this stereotype as a rationalization for letting Asians become social equals, white men are satisfying their duty to protect white womanhood (Ogawa 1971:58). This image of the Chinese male does not foster a masculine figure (Sue and Kitano 1973) and therefore does not threaten the white male identity.

The evolution of the image from "heathens" to "model minorities" is a remarkable occurrence. It is an account of a minority group seen through the veil of stereotypes--a veil originally fabricated of negative images and now woven over with complimentary depictions (Ogawa 1971:56). What has transpired is an elimination of negative images and an evolution of positive depictions.

The 'Silent Oriental' or the belief that Asians are quiet, unobtrusive, hard-working, and intelligent, as prescribed by the "model minority" label, is viewed as positive. Although these images are much more favourable than past images of Asians, these stereotypes may also have negative side effects (Kitano and Sue 1973:6), for example, an Asian student may remain unquestioning, passive, and obedient in order to conform to teachers' expectations. A low achieving or rebellious Asian student may arouse the disapproval of teachers for violating the stereotype. To be an ethnic group positively stereotyped in the Anglo mind is nothing to be sneered at. Such a stereotype is a very great

asset when one looks for a job or buys a home. But such positive stereotypes in themselves are not "good." Positive stereotypes also have a function; they often result in the manipulation of the minority by the majority (Ogawa 1971).

Upon examination of Asian stereotypes in social science literature, Ling (1990) claims that stereotypes continue to serve as blinders for dominant white men and women and to serve as obstacles to the fullest acceptance and development of Chinese women in North America. Some stereotypes have persisted over the years. The Chinese (exotic, inscrutable, and mysterious) were and still are considered intelligent, industrious, quiet, and loyal to the family (Kingston 1982:55). Displayed as cultural "others," gender differences emerge in stereotypes of the Chinese.

As illustrated, North American society has historically been given to negative stereotypes of the Chinese male. The "Suzy Wong" or "Madam Butterfly" stereotype of Chinese women, however, is often viewed as a more positive one (Sue and Kitano 1973:91)--a point which may be contested.

Impressed by the Chinese woman's femininity, which has its roots in the traditions of the past and is constantly perpetuated in the present by the mass media (Fujitomi and Wong 1973:252), Chinese women are stereotyped by people who have never met them. The stereotypical traits attributed to Chinese women conjure up images of women who are passive, demure, sexy, feminine, charming, graceful, and existing for

the sole pleasure of the white male (Kim 1990). The stereotypes of Chinese women exist as more submissive, more domestic, and therefore, in a predominantly patriarchal society, more sexually available than American women (Lim 1989). Although a non-white man having sex with a white woman is abhorred, the Anglo double standard says nothing is wrong with the white man having sex with a non-white woman.¹

Two main stereotypes for Chinese women exist at opposite ends of a spectrum focusing on sexuality. At the one end of the spectrum, the "Dragon Lady" is a powerful seductress who is simultaneously desirable and dangerous to man. Sinister, evil, and cruel, she uses her seductive wiles to ensnare men. The "Dragon Lady" is often pictured in her skin-tight cheong-sam slit thigh high (Ling 1989:311). Traditionally, non-white females have been stereotyped as being as sexually aggressive as their male counterparts. They are promiscuous and easy conquests for the masculine Anglo male. It is not uncommon to see black and Mexican females stereotyped as prostitutes or tramps. "Nothing is as socially disgraceful as for an Anglo to marry one of the black or Mexican females; they are merely masturbatory outlets for sexual desire" (Ogawa 1971:59). In a similar vein, the "Dragon Lady" stereotype of Chinese women is also looked upon as a sexual outlet for white men. They are perceived by the dominant, white male society as

¹For example, the Southern master will hang his black houseboy for raping the mistress, but nothing is wrong with visiting the female slave quarters (Ogawa 1971:57).

possessing an abundance of sexuality--sensual sex objects only to be discarded after use fulfillment (Ling 1990).

The "Shy Lotus Blossom" or "China Doll," stereotype of the Chinese female has been stereotyped quite differently. At the opposite end from the "Dragon Lady," the "China Doll" has been stereotyped in a manner unique to non-white women. She is graceful, delicate, and "infinitely more refined than the black female" (Ogawa 1971:59). She is perceived as a powerless sexual object, soft-spoken and modest, demure, diminutive, delicate, and deferential. This submissive servant devotes body and soul to serving man. Not to be taken seriously, the "China Doll" is ready to please and easy to get along with. But she is not merely a temporary sexual outlet; she is a prospective bride, a "nice girl," a woman to be married. Like the Japanese woman, the Chinese woman

...is purported to always have a Far Eastern aura about her, an Asian mystique. Depicted as an Oriental "damsel" possessing all the qualities worthy enough to command the attention and admiration of any fine nobleman. (Ogawa 1971:60)

It is not uncommon to find the marriage of a white man and a Chinese woman rather accepted. Unlike other ethnic minorities, the Asian female has been accepted in the Anglo marital pattern (Shinagawa and Pang 1988:109).

But both stereotypes of Chinese females are sexual to the extent that the stereotype of Chinese men is not (Kim 1990): the "Dragon Lady," experienced and treacherous, the "China Doll," innocent and virginal. These are exotic versions of

the madonna/whore dichotomy that have characterized western stereotypes of women in general (Ling 1989:312). The "good girl," worthy of being brought home to mother; and the "bad girl," possessing an animalistic sexuality.

Contemporary Chinese stereotypes concerning the sexes reflect an Anglo desire on the one hand to render the new Chinese male harmless to the white female and, on the other hand, to render the Chinese female both available to, and good enough to marry, the Anglo male (Ogawa 1971:57). But both stereotypes of Chinese men and women are constructed to help define the white race's superiority over those of colour and in the process reinforce the white man's virility (Kim 1990:70). The illusion may exist that the stereotyped image of the Chinese woman in North American literature is different from the image of the Chinese man, but both are in fact bound together as part of the same racist and sexist objectification:

For Asians in the U.S., that veritable linchpin of American identity--(hetero)sexuality in a patriarchal society--is no more transmissible, no more a cultural or biological given, than political identity. Both have been constructed by institutionalized racist practices. (Kim 1990:69)

This is apparent in the treatment of gender in racial terms in the entertainment world. In movies, television, and advertisements in the United States, there is an absence of Asian female characters. When present, they are usually depicted as prostitutes or servants. But from what is available, the Asian viewer is struck by the overall treatment

of gender in racial terms: the Asian woman is in dire need to be rescued by the white man (saviour) from her own culture and its evil, impotent men (Kim 1990:70).

According to the available literature these stereotypes are restrictive in the sense that Chinese women are perceived to fit either the: "Dragon Lady" or "China Doll" stereotype. Confronted with these prescribed roles, the choices of coping for Chinese women are dependent on how each woman constructs her identity within her own experiences and how stereotypes affect her experiences and choices.

The following section outlines the role of social constructionism in examining the experiences of Chinese women from within the context of their own experiences.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

The theoretical orientation for this study is social constructionism which is derived from Berger and Luckmann's The Social Construction of Reality (1966) and also Adam's The Survival of Domination (1978). There is a lack of research examining the experiences of Chinese women or any group of minority women from within the context of their own experiences. Most research deals with the experiences of black women. Social constructionism may be a valuable tool in understanding how Chinese women in North America construct their identities within their own experiences and how stereotypes affect their experiences and choices. Berger and Luckmann (1966) in an influential examination of the dialectical relationship between people and society argue that society is a product of human consciousness but that people are also a product of their society. Adam (1978) examines the phenomenology of domination. What follows is an examination of how people are kept in a subordinate position.

To summarize Adam (1978), minority groups are inventions of the greater dominant society. In interracial relations, social definitions, not biological facts, determine the status and place of an individual in interracial relations. Added emphasis is placed on skin colour and sexual preference, and are seized upon as qualities for bases of social inequality. The minority situation, then, can be seen as more a matter of

social definition than of social difference (Adam 1978:10). Once social definition is established, institutionalization results from a number of social practices and psychological responses. In the social inferiorization of people, selected characteristics or traits create a class identified by that characteristic regardless of its representativeness of the group. The dominant group must develop strategies to protect the "hierarchy of access" (Adam 1978:10). This is maintained by assigning the inferiorized to a particular social role and fate. Visibility plays a crucial factor in inferiorization: it is easier to distinguish those who are more easily identified (e.g., skin colour, facial features, etc). But the traits attributed to an inferiorized group can alter and shift over time.¹ Expectations play a major role in stereotyping an inferiorized group. White male construction of Asian imagery, regardless of its accuracy, is learned through interaction (or lack of) in social contexts which in turn reinforce imagery and expectations.

People actively order their world and impart meaning into it by socially constructing it (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Through a process of externalization people create various intellectual and material products. However, these products take on a reality over and above that seen by their individual

¹This is evident in the changing stereotypes of the Chinese, especially the males--from "heathens" to "model minorities." There is no doubt that one of the most interesting patterns of stereotyping applies to those North Americans of Asian ancestry.

creators. Through a process of objectivation people are therefore confronted by their culture without the awareness that they created it. Nonetheless, through the process of internalization, these social products act on a person's subjective consciousness, profoundly shaping one's life (Berger and Luckmann 1966).

The commonsense world of everyday life is equipped with specific bodies of knowledge constituted by virtue of accumulation which is transmitted from generation to generation and available to the individual. Knowledge exists on two levels: that of the everyday, taken-for-granted knowledge shared by members of a group and the more specialized knowledge provided by experts who are part of a group and who articulate that group's views or standpoint (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Interaction in everyday life is affected by a person's common participation in the available social stock of knowledge (Berger and Luckmann 1966:41). This includes knowledge of one's situation and its limits. Participation permits an individual's location in a society and the appropriate manner in which he/she is handled (Berger and Luckmann 1966:42).

Participation of Asian women in western society reveals their location as "women" and "non-white" in a society dominated by white men. Consequently, the manner in which these women are handled is dictated accordingly. Stereotypes of Asian women in western culture operate as part of the

everyday and taken-for-granted knowledge often shared by the dominant group in society. Interpretation of this stereotype by Asian women themselves may uncover deviations (in varying degrees) from the sexually objectivated knowledge widely accepted by the dominant group.

Generalizations and stereotypes of many races and ethnicities persist because they have long been used to justify the exploitation of specific groups. Each oppressed group in western culture is positioned in a particular and distinct relationship to white men, and each form of subordination is shaped by this relational position (Hurtado 1989). The popular view of Asian women in western imagery and thought is abundantly filled with stereotypes that are also and extension of the oppression of women. Inherent in this oppression is how the individual woman's reality is constructed around these stereotypes. Individual realities are dependent upon a person's experience and how it is interpreted. This interpretation is ultimately rooted in how people experience their world. Racism plays a role in the social construction of racial stereotypes that Asian women are forced to cope with: Asian women in North America experience a different world than those who are not Asian and female, but experience it in such a way that reality can only be interpreted differently than the dominant group. Those in power, those who control the education system, the mass media,

and other cultural institutions are more able to establish their view of reality as superior to other interpretations:

The dominated person finds "himself" reflected in literary traditions, the electronic media, formalized education, and so forth, either not at all or in a highly distorted and "unhealthy" manner. (Adam 1978:55)

Groups unequal in power are also unequal in their access to those resources necessary to introduce and implement their perspectives outside the oppressed group. The perpetuation and maintenance of stereotypes of subordinate groups is just one of the many ways in which the dominant group maintains its power. One obvious example of the use of a stereotype is the lazy, servile Black Sambo image which served to justify slavery and pacify a potentially explosive social structure (Ogawa 1971). The Black Sambo stereotype was not held by the Southern Anglos innocently, but to protect their slave society. This oppression by the powerful group is necessary in order to confine attempts to resist domination (Collins 1989). Similarly, the "model minority" stereotype of Asians functions as (1) a justification that white North America is non-racist; it demonstrates that a minority group can be accepted and become successful in the United States and Canada; and (2) a criterion for other minorities--Blacks in particular--to emulate (Ogawa 1971:58). The "model minority" stereotype, under the veneer of compliments and a spirit of good will, is being used to comfort and defend a structure still basically racist.

As an inferiorized group, Asian women are presented with what Adam (1978:89) refers to as a "composite portrait" which contains false claims to define them. Dominant groups have a tendency to project certain sexual characteristics onto the subordinated (Adam 1978)--which may explain the concentration of sexual imagery present in popular stereotypes of Asian women. The inferiorized group (in this case, Asian women) is encouraged to accept the dictates of this "composite portrait" disguised as part of one's own self-perception. This encouragement to conform to these ascribed roles is presented in many forms: literature, media, entertainment (i.e., films, television) etc., and also through expectations in face-to-face interactions with members (both individually or collectively) of the dominant group. Members of an inferiorized group develop a selection of behaviours performed in specific situations for audiences, often changing as the situation requires (Adam 1978). Asian women, with respect to popular stereotypes, alter their behaviours accordingly.

Social construction is a useful tool in exploring how Chinese women position themselves in relation to the popular stereotypes dictated by the dominant North American society. The Chinese female in North America have the unique position of not only being female in a male world, but also being people of colour in a white ruling society. They are vulnerable in many ways: as Chinese in an Euro-American world, as a woman in a Chinese man's world, and as a Chinese woman in

a white man's world (Ling 1990:6). It is only by comparing how different Chinese women describe their experiences that it becomes clear how stereotypes of Chinese women affect them.

The following section will examine the methodology chosen to carry out this study.

Methodology

Two methods are used in this study: Q methodology and semi-structured interviews. Q methodology was chosen for this study to enable the researcher to identify subtle and not-so-subtle differences in perceptions of Chinese women in a dating context with a white male (self-perception along with white male expectations of them as women and as Chinese). Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions were chosen to reinforce what is uncovered by Q methodology.

Introduction to Q Methodology

Q methodology as developed by Stephenson (1953) provides a foundation for the systematic study of subjectivity. Q methodology derived from a form of factor analysis¹ on test responses of a large random sample of subjects in order to discover groups of test items which correlated highly and consequently seemed to be measuring the same factor. Stephenson (1953) suggested that in place of correlating test responses, a researcher could correlate persons, i.e., the researcher could correlate the test results of two or more selected subjects.

The method used to gather the data for correlating persons is traditionally called 'Q sort technique.' The Q

¹This form of factor analysis, or R methodology, is a generalization of Pearson's product moment r (Brown 1986:58).

sort envisioned by Stephenson (1953) was intended to serve as a tool within the broader framework of his Q methodology. Typically, a subject is presented with a set of statements about some topic and is asked to rank-order them along a continuum (usually from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree"), an operation referred to as 'Q sorting' (Brown 1980). The statements are matters of opinion only (not fact) and the purpose of this sorting is to get a conceptual representation of the sorter's attitude toward the subject being considered (Brooks 1970). There is no right or wrong way to provide one's point of view about anything, yet the rankings are subject to factor analysis and the resulting factors, which arise from individual subjectivities, indicate aspects of subjectivity which exist (Brown 1980).

The Q sort technique can be used in a number of ways by varying the instructions. The subject can be instructed to describe oneself as one was, as one is, as one would like to be, or as perceived by others (e.g., as part of this study: white male dating partners). Q methodology is advantageous in describing behaviour since the frame of reference is provided by the individual.

There are two methods of sorting in Q sort studies, forced and unforced. In a forced sort, the subject is required to place a predetermined number of cards in each area so that the researcher specifies the shape and scatter of the distribution curve (a normal distribution). In an unforced

sort the subject is allowed to place each statement card in one of the areas in which the sorter judges it to belong regardless of the number of statement cards already in that area. With an unforced sort, the subject is allowed to produce a spontaneous arrangement of statements (without adhering to prescribed amounts in each area) so that the final distribution may have any shape and scatter. Although there are advantages and disadvantages to both the forced and unforced sorts, Brooks (1970) concluded that they do not produce significantly different results. An unforced sort was chosen for this study based on feedback from five preliminary Q sort subjects. These subjects were initially presented with a forced sort and subsequently retested with an unforced sort after the subjects' recommendations.

Developing a Q Sort

A Q sort consists of a sample of items to be ranked by research participants along a continuum. A sample of statements is subsequently drawn for administration in a Q sort from a "concourse" (Brown 1986). A subset of statements called a 'Q sample' is drawn from the larger concourse and it is this set of statements which is eventually presented to participants in the form of a Q sort. Concourses are objects--phrases, verbal statements, single words, pictures, photographs, pieces of art, or even musical selections--and may be collected in a number of ways. Brown (1986) claims the

most typical is by interviewing people and jotting down or recording what they say. Preliminary interviews and pre-tests were conducted with five volunteer subjects (representative of the segment of society being researched) as part of the development of the concourse. Any insight and knowledge gathered from these sessions was incorporated into the Q sample. Statements in a concourse, therefore, are subjective from the vantage point of the person(s) involved. The purpose of Q methodology is to bring the self, the concourse, and meaning together by focusing attention on the statements of the Q sample rather than to generalize its results to the entire population (Brown 1986). The interest lies in how the subject interprets and sorts the Q sample, not just in the statements alone. It is anticipated that each sorter will have a subjective reaction to the Q sort statements unique to each individual. Each statement does not work independently but with each other to permit new meanings and relationships to emerge (Brown 1980).

For statistical stability and reliability, Brooks (1970) recommends no less than 50 statements in the Q sample and no more than 100, although Brown (1986) suggests reducing the statements between 40 to 60 for reasons of practicality. Two sets of 42 statements were used in this study. The statements in this study consists of popular stereotypes of Asian women found in social science literature: descriptions based on popular stereotypes of the "Dragon Lady," the "China Doll,"

the general stereotype of Chinese women and stereotypes of Chinese people in general. Also included is a list of statements contrary to these stereotypes. The first set of statements pertain to how the subject interprets her most recent dating experience with a white man from her perception of the dating partner's point of view (see Appendix A.1) and the second set pertain to the subject's own point of view (see Appendix A.2). The two sets of 42 statements of the Q sample for this study were printed on cards (one to a card) three centimetres by ten centimetres with a random number printed onto the back of the card. These two sorts were combined² following the conclusion of the sorting to form one Q sort consisting of 84 statements for each sorter.

Subjects

The subjects for the Q sort are not chosen randomly but selected based on presumed interests (Kitzinger 1987). For this study, the 38 subjects are single, adult women of Chinese descent who have had at least one dating experience with a white man. The subjects are single (or divorced) since being active in the dating world (usually) requires the participants to be free of marital bonds. Subjects for the Q sort were gathered by way of snowball sampling (in Windsor and Toronto).

²Since an unforced choice of sorting was chosen for this study, combining the two Q sorts for each participant prior to analysis would have no affect on the final distribution pattern.

Twenty-two of the subjects were recruited during the Conference on East Asian Youth and Alienation (in Toronto) during the weekend of February 26-28, 1993.

Subjects were informed of the full intent of the study: a written description of the study was given which indicated that no deception would be employed and that the participants were guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality. Subjects were also asked to sign a consent form before the start of the Q sort (see Appendix B).

Administering the Q Sort

Usually, the sorter is given the Q sample (which are shuffled so that they were in no particular order) and instructed to read through them all first so as to get an impression of the range of opinion at issue and to permit the mind to settle into the situation. At the same time, the sorter is also instructed to begin the sorting process by initially dividing the statements into three piles: those statements with which they agreed in one pile, those with which they disagreed in a second pile, and the remainder in a third pile.

An unforced choice in sorting is the method that was used for this study so as to get a true representation of how the subjects felt. Each subject was instructed to sort the statements twice, first, the 'other' sort (how the sorter feels her dating partner perceives her in the context of the

sorter's most recent dating experience with a white male) and second, the 'self' sort (how the sorter perceives herself in that same context). The purpose of sorting two separate piles of statements was to aid the sorters in maintaining the two different perspectives required in sorting the two different sets of statements. It was found during preliminary interviews and pre-tests that it was less confusing for the subjects when the statements were separated according to two separate piles for the sorter's perception of her dating partner's point of view and the sorter's own point of view. It was also found that the test subjects were able to achieve a better frame of reference for the overall Q sort when the statements regarding the subject's point of view of her dating partner's perception was administered first.

All participants were tested separately and at different times with the researcher present. Instructions and purpose of the study were explained by the researcher at the test session and a cardboard scale illustrating the eleven point rating scale (see Appendix C) was provided to assist the sorters with their task. The rating scale is spread across the top of a flat area representing the subject's degree of agreement or disagreement with the statements. For each sorting task, the subjects were instructed to distribute the 42 cards in each of the 11 areas twice: the first set of cards for the 'other' sort and the second set of cards for the 'self' sort. The following instructions were given for the

'other' sort: "Sort these cards to describe how you feel your last white dating partner would describe you as a Chinese woman. That is, how you perceive him to feel, from those statements that you think he would say are least like you to those that he would say are most like you. Try to be as honest as you can." The following instructions were given for the 'self' sort: "Now sort these cards to describe yourself as a Chinese woman as you see yourself in your most recent dating experience with a white male, from those statements that are least like you to those that are most like you. Try to be as honest as you can." It was made clear to each subject that there is no right or wrong way to sort the cards. The Q sorts were not timed. At the end of each sort, the examiner recorded the numbers corresponding to the area on the continuum where each card was placed in accordance with the Q sort method and an arbitrary number was assigned to each participant's Q sort.

Analyzing the Q Sort

In the case of Q methodology, factor analysis determines how many basically different Q sorts are in evidence. If a certain group of subjects shares a common outlook, they will define a single factor and the merger of their separate responses will result in a single Q sort representing the view they have in common (Brown 1986). Q sorts which have a high, positive correlation are likely to represent the same 'factor'

or common view. Q sorts which have a low correlation are likely to load on other factors (Kitzinger 1987). These factors represent groups of subjects who have ranked the Q sample similarly. Members within each factor highly correlate among themselves but do not correlate with persons in other factors, and vice versa. The number of factors is therefore "a purely empirical matter as determined by the extent to which the audience is actually divided on the issue" (Brown 1986:60). So, when attitudes are in diametric opposition, high negative correlations result in bipolar factors.

After the factors are extracted, they are rotated to simple structure "to provide the best fit with the data" (Kitzinger 1987:85). At the conclusion of the factoring processes, factor scores for each statement in the Q sample are calculated. The result is a single Q sort (factor array) for each factor, with each factor array representing a composite of those individual Q sorts constituting the factor (Brown 1986). The task is to interpret and explain the similarities and differences among these factor arrays. It is from these factors, or common views, that the personal interviews were based.

Interviews

Interviews were arranged upon completion of the Q sort. The respondents were asked if they were interested in participating in a follow-up interview. Sixteen volunteers

for the personal interviews were contacted by phone during which time the interview and location was agreed upon. Interviews took place in Windsor and Toronto. Semi-structured interviews took place based on the outcome of the Q sort study. Each interview was thirty to forty minutes in length and was conducted in English although the interview could have been conducted in Cantonese if the subject so requested since the interviewer is also of Chinese descent. Signed consent from the subjects was procured at the start of the interview session (see Appendix D) and each subject was informed that she could, at any time, discontinue the interview. Subjects were provided with a question period before and after the interview if so requested. The interview schedule (see Appendix E) provided an informal guide for the interviews and was developed to elicit candid comments and accounts of the subjects' own experiences. The actual interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. The recorded interviews were only used by the researcher for the purpose of content analysis. Due to practicality, full transcripts of each individual interview are not provided. Quotes attributed to interview subjects that appear in the final thesis are identified only by the factor number the subjects represent and otherwise remain anonymous.

The semi-structured interviews conducted in this study consisted of open-ended discussions based on: the data results of the Q sort that fell under specific factors, the popular

stereotypes of Chinese women found in the review of literature, and the subjects' perception of how imagery created in the dominant white society affects her dating experiences with white men in terms of accuracy, expectations, and myths. These interviews explore the subjective experiences of Chinese women in a dating context with a white male and how they deal with these images.

The following section outlines the results uncovered following the implementation of the above methodology.

Results

The results are divided into three sections: The Subjects, Data Analysis, and The Interviews. The first section outlines the research participants. The second section examines the outcome of the Q sort as participated in by 38 volunteers. The third section summarizes the Q sort results with the use of quotations from the open-ended, semi-structured interview accounts. Quotations from interviews do not establish a random representative sample of all the comments made by the interviewees (Kitzinger 1987:88). Each quotation is followed by the factor number the subject represents.

The Subjects

An outline of the 38 Q sort participants is presented in Appendix F. The average age of the participants is 24 years with the ages ranging from 19 to 34. Of the 38 participants, two completed their high school education while 36 have attended post-secondary institutions. Of those with a post-secondary education, an average of 3.5 years of studies has been completed. Twenty-nine of the participants were Canadian-born. One was born in the United States. Of the eight foreign-born participants, two were born in China and six in Hong Kong. The time spent living in Canada by the foreign-born participants ranged from 10 to 26 years with an

average of 17 years spent in Canada. Thirteen of the participants reside in Windsor while 25 reside in Toronto. Of the 38 Q sort participants, 20 volunteered for the follow-up interview, but only 16 consented to the actual interview which took place in Windsor and Toronto. Excerpts from these 16 interviews are used to supplement and substantiate the data collected from each factor group. Seven of the 16 interview subjects represented Factor Ia and its opposing view (Factor Ib), four subjects represented Factor II, two subjects represented Factor III, and three subjects represented Factor IV.

Data Analysis

Thirty-eight completed Q sorts were analyzed following Brown's (1980, 1993) recommended procedures for Q methodology. Separate analyses were performed for the 'other' and 'self' sorts along with a combined analysis of both. Results were similar for the separate and combined analyses. The combined analysis is presented here, it was anticipated that this analysis would be easier for the reader to follow. Factor analysis is based on the correlations between variables, in this case, Chinese women's Q sorts. The computer program (SPSS Inc. 1986) starts by taking the raw data (see Appendix G) and correlating each woman's Q sort with each other woman's Q sort, therefore, generating a 38 by 38 correlation matrix (see Appendix H). The correlations reveal the extent to which

pairs of Q sorts are similar or dissimilar. Factor analysis searches for groups of Q sorts which (on the basis of their correlations) appear to go together as a "group" or "type" (Kitzinger 1987:85). This resulted in six factors which were extracted using principle component factor analysis¹ and rotated to simple structure, using varimax² criterion. Factors are standardized with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1, in order for the factor loadings to give an indication of salience (Brown 1986).

Factors are extracted if they possessed eigenvalues³ in excess of 1.00 (Brown 1986). This resulted in six factors which accounted for 83.8% of the variance. The results indicate that the original 38 sets of rankings reduce to six independent orderings and one opposing view. That is, seven accounts of how Chinese women viewed their white dating partners' perception of them (as Chinese and as women) in the context of their most recent dating experience and how these same women perceive themselves in the same context can be differentiated from the Q sort data. The factor pattern for the sort before rotation is presented in Appendix I. Rotated factor loadings for six factors are presented in Appendix J. Rotated factor loadings for each participant is presented in table 1 (the boxed numbers refer to those Q sorts that are

¹As recommended by Brown's tutorial (1993).

²Again, according to Brown's tutorial (1993).

³Eigenvalue refers to the principal axes (Brown 1986).

TABLE 1

Varimax rotation for sorts with significant loadings

sort	Factor					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1	91	19	05	17	04	13
3	87	16	06	13	12	03
7	91	15	02	18	08	-01
11	95	09	03	09	12	09
12	93	10	11	12	09	15
13	93	13	13	11	07	13
14	94	12	08	06	11	11
15	93	05	04	13	10	10
16	83	05	05	-09	20	10
19	50	15	04	21	23	06
36	83	17	15	05	26	04
4	-80	-18	01	-11	19	26
6	-78	-07	09	-08	25	26
10	-85	01	-06	-08	18	23
37	-90	-06	-05	-09	07	08
38	-85	-20	-07	-11	05	09
9	11	84	08	04	-04	08
24	23	87	15	14	09	-00
26	17	89	13	14	07	00
29	15	96	07	09	01	-05
30	16	95	05	06	03	-02
31	11	95	05	07	-03	-07
32	12	94	04	05	00	01
2	01	07	95	06	01	-01
20	05	17	92	13	-01	-07
21	-03	09	96	02	-02	-03
22	10	06	88	-00	06	-06
28	03	03	94	04	03	-02
5	23	10	01	93	08	02
8	22	12	01	93	17	-02
25	11	07	14	92	10	-03
27	21	15	04	92	17	-01
34	13	10	05	95	05	03
17	05	03	14	19	79	-04
23	11	00	02	26	71	-12
35	01	03	11	05	15	-87

pure⁴ and therefore define a particular factor group). The standard error for factor loadings is calculated by taking the square root of the combined number of statements for the Q sorts and dividing into 1 (Brown 1986). For 84 statements, the standard error is .10910. Loadings in excess of 2.58(SE) are significant at the .01 level (Brown 1986) so that $2.58(.10910) = .281478$ and anything equal or greater than .28 is significant at the .01 level.

Factors five and six were dropped from further analysis due to the lack of interview volunteers who may have shed some light on any possible discoveries. The remaining four factors (see Appendix K) account for 77.0% of the variance. For each factor, the separate defining Q sorts (as indicated in table 1) were merged, taking account of factor weight, leading to a single set of factor scores⁵ for the 84 statements. Factor scores were calculated using the regression method which is the most common procedure (Brown 1986). This comprises the factor arrays, as presented in Appendix L. A list of the average score rank-ordered by factor group for the Q sort statements are presented in Appendix M and defining Q sort statements for each factor are presented in Appendix N.

⁴A 'pure' loading refers to the respondent's Q sort which loads significantly on only one factor and no other. If a respondent's Q sort loads significantly on two or more factors, that Q sort is 'confounded' and must be dropped from further analysis (Brown 1980).

⁵Factor scores were calculated using 36 sorts since two sorts were 'confounded.'

The task, then, is to interpret and explain the similarities and differences among the factor arrays for the Q sorts (Brown 1980). What is presented is the actual resulting factors (Ia, Ib, II, III, and IV) that are identified, interpreted, and analyzed by the researcher. A comparison of the differences between factors is presented. Only relevant Q sort statements are included. Interpretation relied upon an examination of relative factor scores in the factor arrays. Factor scores reflect an attitude in operation (Brown 1980) and, in the analysis, the Q sort statements are presented with their respective factor group scores (located to the right of each item).

The Q sort results indicate various subjective meanings for each factor group in terms of the relation between popular stereotypes of Chinese women and its affect on the behaviour of the participants. How each factor group interprets these stereotypes in the context of their most recent dating experience with a white male is discussed at the end of each segment.

Factor Ia

Factor I is composed of 16 sorts. Of the 16 sorts, 11 defined this factor while the other five sorts loaded heavily in the opposing view (represented as Factor Ib) for the same

statements which loaded positively for Factor Ia. As indicated in table 1, participants 1, 3, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, and 36 define Factor Ia. Although two other participants (18 and 33) loaded significantly on this factor, they also loaded significantly on another factor and thus confounded and cannot be used to define this factor (as explained in the previous chapter).

By examining the combined factor scores for 'Factor Ia' it is apparent that Chinese women with a high loading on Factor Ia did not view themselves as fitting into the typical stereotype (submissive, passive, quiet, etc.) of Chinese women in the context of their most recent dating experience with a white male and that the women felt their dating partners did not perceive them as fitting the stereotype. This is reinforced by the subjects sorting negative on pro-stereotype statements and positive on anti-stereotype statements (see Appendix M).

Statement	(factor scores)	
	Factor Ia	Ib
84. I didn't fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women (quiet, submissive, passive).	2	0
20. He didn't think I fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women (quiet, passive, submissive).	3	-4
29. He asked me out because of my personality, not because I'm Chinese.	4	-4

Women loading heavily on Factor Ia also sorted in strong agreement to the statement that their partners' attraction to them had nothing to do with the women being Chinese.

Women of Factor Ia sorted positive on statements which described the women as equal to their respective dating partners and perceived the relationship as an egalitarian one. These women also sorted positive to statements that their dating partners viewed them as equals. This is also reinforced by statements 21, 22, 23, and 64 (see Appendix M).

	Ia	Ib
66. I was his equal, he listened to my point of view. In arguments and discussions I would never take his side unless I agreed with it.	3	-5
63. There was a lot of "give and take." We took turns doing things for each other.	3	-4
19. He treated me like an equal. We often discussed many things and made decisions together.	3	-3

The women of Factor Ia felt their dating partners would agree that they perceived the women as equals in their relationships and treated them as such. This is consistent with the women's perception of themselves, and what they felt were their dating partners' perception, that they did not fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women since being viewed as an equal is not a characteristic attributed to the "China Doll."

Women loading heavily on this factor did not have a problem articulating their feelings.

	Ia	Ib
62. I always tried to be as honest and tactful as the situation permitted.	2	-3
60. I usually didn't have any problem discussing what was on my mind.	3	-3
45. I found it easier to hide my feelings. I was secretive, I didn't want him to know too much about me.	-5	4

These women were the only subjects in the study to sort negative on statement 45. They were able to speak freely in their most recent dating experience with a white man. This fundamentally opposes the stereotype of the "Silent Oriental" which outlines the belief that Chinese people are quiet, reserved, and rarely speak.

Women of this factor sorted positive on statements that described the women as strong and independent when dealing with their respective dating partner and felt their dating partners also viewed them similarly.

	Ia	Ib
74. I was direct and honest, no matter what the consequences.	5	-4
72. I had to have my say in decisions and discussions. I'm not one to keep my mouth shut.	4	-3
38. He knew I was very open and honest with him, whether he liked it or not.	2	-4
42. He thought I was aggressive and demanding because I went after things instead of waiting for them to happen.	4	-3

For the women of Factor Ia, these strong qualities prevailed when dealing with the physical aspect of the relationship.

	Ia	Ib
73. I was not his sex toy. I made it clear to him that I did not want to be touched, unless I said so.	5	-5

In this part of the relationship the women dealt with it by consciously exploring what it was they wanted and whether it was in their own best interest.

Also, with regards to the physical aspect of the relationship, women loading heavily on this factor sorted positive to the statement that their dating partners did not feel they pressured them.

25. He never pressured me about sex.

Ia Ib
4 -5

These subjects claimed that their dating partners did not pressured them into sex. This is consistent with the subjects' view of the relationship as an egalitarian one.

It is apparent that women loading significantly on Factor Ia rejected popular stereotypes of Chinese women and the stereotype of Chinese people in general. In the context of their most recent dating experience with a white male, they did not perceive themselves as fitting the "China Doll" stereotype of Chinese women nor did they feel that their dating partners perceived them in this manner. The fact that these women felt they did not have any problems articulating their feelings to their dating partners reinforces their lack of identity with the "Silent Oriental" stereotype. These subjects identified themselves as independent women with strong characteristics (which was also displayed in their perception of control over the physical aspect of the dating relationship) combined with how they felt their dating partners perceived them reinforces their belief, and their partners' beliefs, that they did not fit the "China Doll" stereotype.

Factor Ib: The Opposing View

Five sorts (represented as Factor Ib) loaded significantly in the opposing view for the same statements which loaded positively for Factor Ia. These women loaded strongly on the same pro-stereotype statements that Factor Ia sorted negatively. As indicated in table 1, participants 4, 6, 10, 37, and 38 defined the opposing view to Factor Ia.

Looking at the combined factor scores for the 'opposing view' or Factor Ib, it is evident that women who loaded heavily on this opposing view sorted neutral or had no opinion of whether they perceived themselves as fitting into the popular stereotype of Chinese women in the context of their most recent dating experience with a white male.

	Ia	Ib
84. I didn't fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women (quiet, submissive, passive, etc.).	2	0

Although they didn't have an opinion for the above statement (which is represented by a factor score of "0" meaning "no opinion," "neutral," or "will not answer") the women sorted in strong agreement to statements that describe them as displaying characteristics of the "China Doll" stereotype of Chinese women.

	Ia	Ib
42. I stroked his ego a lot. I would pamper and fuss over him, I was sensitive to his needs and would do things that I thought he wanted me to do.	-5	5
46. I was supportive of the choices he made and the things he did even if I didn't understand or agree with him.	-4	4
56. I enjoyed cooking for him, I liked to "play house" and pretend to be his wife (although I didn't tell him that).	-3	5
58. I picked up after him a lot. It felt good to help him out.	-4	2

These women played the submissive/subservient role to their dating partners which is the type of behaviour associated with the stereotype of the "China Doll" and what is expected of them as submissive, subservient, passive women.

Unlike women presenting the Factor Ia account, who sorted positive on the statement that their dating partners did not perceive them to fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women, these women sorted the opposite.

	Ia	Ib
20. He didn't think I fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women (quiet, passive, submissive).	3	-4

Women loading heavily on this opposing view also sorted in strong agreement to pro-stereotype statements that reinforced their view of how their dating partners perceived them in terms of the "China Doll" stereotype. Some of the characteristics they felt their dating partners would use to describe them include: obtrusiveness, subservience, deference, submissiveness, shyness, not to be taken seriously, fragility,

and loyalty (statements 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, and 15, see Appendix M).

Furthermore, these women sorted positive on statements that they felt their dating partners were attracted to them in the first place because they are Chinese and not because of their personality.

	Ia	Ib
1. He asked me out because he was attracted to Chinese women. He told me he found Chinese women exotic and sensual.	-3	2
29. He asked me out because of my personality, not because I'm Chinese.	4	-4

This initial attraction was based on the women's race.

Women loading significantly on this opposing view also sorted positive on statements that their dating partners perceived them to fit the stereotype of Chinese people in general: the belief that the Chinese people are dedicated, hard-working, and adept at math and sciences.

	Ia	Ib
11. He thought I was very hard-working because I had put a lot of time and effort into what I did.	-5	3
10. He thought I would be good at math and sciences.	-4	2

Women loading heavily on this factor also sorted positive on statements which describe them as secretive: hiding their feelings and personal information from their dating partners. These women were the only ones in this study to sort positive on the statement that they downplayed their intelligence.

	Ia	Ib
68. I was selective about what I revealed to him. I didn't think he needed to know absolutely everything about me.	-1	4
45. I found it easier to hide my feelings. I was secretive, I didn't want him to know too much about me.	-5	4
59. I was more intelligent than he was but I tried to hide it.	-3	5
72. I had to have my say in decisions and discussions. I'm not one to keep my mouth shut.	4	-3

The women of this view were the only ones in this study to sort negative on the statement that they had to have their say in the relationship. This silence and obedience is characteristic of the stereotypes of both the "Silent Oriental" and the "China Doll."

Unlike Factor Ia, these women felt their dating partners viewed the physical part of their relationship differently. These subjects sorted in agreement to statements that their dating partners assumed they (the women) were sexually experienced; their dating partners expected them to comply with their sexual "wants"; and were pressured by their dating partners to do so.

	Ia	Ib
13. He assumed I was sexually experienced.	-4	3
4. He expected me to "put out." He thought he could have his way with me.	-4	3
25. He never pressured me about sex.	4	-5

Sexual experience, a quality attributed to the "Dragon Lady" stereotype, and sexual submissiveness, associated with the

"China Doll" stereotype, are traits the dating partners were perceived to have assigned to the women of this factor.

The women loading significantly in this opposing view were the only subjects in this study to sort negative on the statement that describe the women as equals in the dating relationship.

	Ia Ib
66. I was his equal, he listened to my point of view. In arguments and discussions I would never take his side unless I agreed with it.	3 -5

They also sorted positively on the following statement.

	Ia Ib
49. I let him make the final decisions on what we do, I usually gave in to him anyways.	-2 2

This is consistent with the stereotype of the submissive "China Doll." The women gave in to their dating partners wishes, even the wishes that pertained to the physical aspect of their relationship.

	Ia Ib
44. He usually made the first move and in order to keep him satisfied I would let him get as far as he wanted.	-4 2

They did this in order to please the men, even giving in to them sexually.

Women loading significantly on this opposing view sorted positive on statements that describe the women as seductresses using their charm.

		Ia	Ib
51.	I would "tease" him in a seductive way, I enjoyed seeing him squirm. This made me feel sexy and in control.	-5	3
52.	I used my "feminine charm" to get my way. I didn't see anything wrong with that since it was one of the few ways I could persuade him.	-4	4

The women found other ways of counter-balancing the dating partners' power in the relationship through means that are attributed to the "Dragon Lady" stereotype. These women maintained control in their relationship by relying on subtle and not-so-subtle manipulations of implied sexual promise.

To sum up, it is apparent that women loading high on this opposing view conformed to the stereotypes of Chinese women and Chinese people in general. They felt their dating partners were initially attracted to them because of expectations as a result of these stereotypes. The women, in turn, used this to their full advantage. The subjects felt their dating partners perceived them as fitting the "China Doll" stereotype but the women themselves did not have an opinion on whether or not they fit that stereotype. However, they admitted to playing the submissive/subservient role in the relationship which suggests the women conformed to the "China Doll" stereotype afterall. This was also reinforced by the lack of equality in the relationship felt by the women and in how they viewed their dating partners' perceptions. These women felt their dating partners perceived them as fitting the stereotype of Chinese people in general just as the women

agreed they exhibit characteristics associated with the "Silent Oriental" stereotype.

Pertaining to the physical aspect of the relationship, the women of this opposing view perceived themselves, and felt their dating partners also perceived them, as alternately fitting the "China Doll" and the "Dragon Lady" stereotypes. These subjects felt their dating partners assumed they were sexually experienced and as a result were pressured and expected to comply with the wishes of the men. The women revealed that they in fact did give in to the men quite often in order to please (with all aspects of the relationship, not just the physical). As a means of maintaining some leverage and control, these women used charm and seduction to manipulate the men.

Factor II

Seven sorts formed Factor II. As indicated in table 1 participants 9, 24, 26, 29, 30, 31, and 32 defined this factor. Although one other participant (18) loaded significantly on this factor, this sort also loaded significantly on Factor I and is therefore confounded.

Similar to Factor Ia, Factor II women sorted negative on how their dating partners perceived them according to pro-stereotype statements of Chinese women. Women loading significantly on this factor sorted positive to anti-stereotype statements that their dating partners did not

perceive them as fitting the popular stereotype of Chinese women. But women loading on this factor were the only subjects in the study who sorted positive on the statement that they thought their dating partners were disappointed that they didn't fit the popular stereotypes of Chinese women.

	Ia	Ib	II
40. I thought he was disappointed that I didn't fit into the popular stereotypes of Chinese women (quiet, passive, submissive, etc).	-1	0	5

Similar to Factor Ib, the women who loaded heavily in this factor sorted positive to the statement that their dating partners perceive them with respect to pro-stereotype statements of Chinese people in general--hard-working and adept at math and science related subjects (see Appendix M).

Like Factor Ib, the general stereotype of Chinese people was reinforced by the women of Factor II sorting positive on statements that described them as secretive and unable to articulate their feelings to their dating partners. They felt uncomfortable and scrutinized when attention was upon them and preferred to remain quiet much like the stereotype of the inscrutable "Silent Oriental."

These women also sorted positive on statements that portray their dating partners' perception of them as head-strong, independent, assertive, and outspoken; contrary to traditional domestic roles that, in the past, were usually attributed to women (reinforced by statements 38, and 41, see

Appendix M). Like Factor Ia, the women of Factor II also sorted positive on statements that describe them as independent, assertive, and out-spoken (reinforced by statements 77, 78, and 79). These characteristics are not associated with the popular "China Doll" stereotype of Chinese women.

Like Factor Ia, women loading significantly on Factor II sorted in agreement to the statement that they did not fit the popular stereotypes of Chinese women but (with the exception of Factor Ib) these subjects were the only ones in this study to sort positive on statements portraying them as domestic when dealing with their dating partner and enjoying this role.

	Ia	Ib	II
56. I enjoyed cooking for him, I liked to "play house" and pretend to be his wife (although I didn't tell him that).	-3	5	3

This domestic role playing is part of the same stereotype they rejected. It should be noted that this domestic role is connected to the traditional role of women in society so that it is difficult to separate the domestic role playing of these subjects as a characteristic of a specific racial or gender stereotype.

Similar to Factor Ib these women sorted in agreement on statements that they felt their dating partners were attracted to them in the first place because they are Chinese and not because of their personality.

	Ia	Ib	II
1. He asked me out because he was attracted to Chinese women. He told me he found Chinese women exotic and sensual.	-3	2	2
29. He asked me out because of my personality, not because I'm Chinese.	4	-4	-4

This initial attraction was based on the women's race.

One aspect of the "Dragon Lady" stereotype which the women felt their dating partners perceived them to exhibit is the power to manipulate using sensuality and sex. Similar to Factor Ib, women loading heavily on this factor felt they maintained leverage in the relationship by using seduction as a controlling mechanism (statements 51 and 52, see Appendix M).

Similar to Factor Ib, Factor II women sorted negative to the statement that they perceived their dating partners to feel threatened by them.

	Ia	Ib	II
28. He never felt threatened by me. He knew I would never hurt him intentionally.	5	-5	-5

This perception that their dating partners felt threatened displays a characteristic of the "Dragon Lady," in which the women are seen as cruel, treacherous, and dangerous to man.

Factor II was a combination of Factor Ia and its opposing view, Factor Ib. It is apparent that women loading significantly on Factor II rejected the stereotypes of Chinese women but accepted the general stereotype of Chinese people. Similar to Factor Ia, these women felt their dating partners

did not perceive them as fitting the "China Doll" stereotype of Chinese women but unlike the other factors the women of Factor II felt their dating partners were disappointed. Similar to Factor Ib, the women of Factor II felt their dating partners were initially attracted to them because of their race. The women did not perceive themselves to fit the "China Doll" stereotype but displayed characteristics of the general stereotype of Chinese people which the women felt their dating partners also perceived them as. Like Factor Ib, Factor II women admitted they used seduction as a controlling mechanism (similar to the "Dragon Lady" stereotype) in the relationship in order to get what they wanted.

Factor III

Five sorts formed Factor III. As indicated in table 1, participants 2, 20, 21, 22, and 28 defined this factor. One other sort (33) loaded high on this factor but also loaded significantly on another factor and therefore cannot be used to define this factor.

Similar to Factors Ia and II, the women of Factor III sorted negative on statements that their dating partners perceived them to fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women (#20, see Appendix M). But unlike the other factors, this was not reinforced by consistently sorting negative on pro-stereotype statements. The women sorted inconsistently on statements pertaining to their dating partners' perception of

them in terms of the popular stereotype of Chinese women (see to Appendix M). Similar to Factor II, women loading significantly on Factor III sorted negative on the statement that they perceived themselves to fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women but sorted positive on the statements that describe their dating partners perceiving them to fitting into the general stereotype of Chinese people. And also similar to Factor II, women loading heavily in this factor sorted in agreement to statements that they had a difficult time articulating their feelings (statement 50, see Appendix M). This is consistent with the stereotype of Chinese people in general--the stereotype of the "Silent Oriental" as inscrutable and mysterious.

Similar to Factor Ib, Factor III women sorted negative on statements that their dating partners perceived them as equals in the relationship; however, the women sorted positive on statements that they perceived themselves as equals in the same relationship.

		Ia	Ib	II	III
19.	He treated me like an equal. We often discussed many things and made decisions together.	3	-3	4	-3
66.	I was his equal, he listened to my point of view. In arguments and discussions I would never take his side unless I agreed with it.	3	-5	2	2

Their negative sorting of statement 19 is consistent with the "China Doll" stereotype although this is in direct contradiction to statement 66.

Although Factor III women sorted in agreement that they did not fit the "China Doll" stereotype these women sorted inconsistently on pro-stereotype statements that describe them as caretakers but unlike factors Ia and II these women sorted negative on statements which describe the relationship as equal. This displays an aspect of the "China Doll" stereotype where the woman dotes on her man and put his needs before hers.

	Ia	Ib	II	III
65. I took his feelings into consideration but I always remained true to myself.	2	-4	3	-1
63. There was a lot of "give and take." We took turns doing things for each other.	3	-4	2	-4

The women of this factor felt their dating partners did not perceive them as equals in the relationship. This is yet another acknowledgement of that inequality although it contradicts their positive sorting to statement 66.

Similar to Factor Ib, women loading heavily on this factor sorted positive to statements that they perceived themselves as sexually submissive to their dating partners.

	Ia	Ib	II	III
44. He usually made the first move and in order to keep him satisfied I would let him get as far as he wanted.	-4	2	-5	4
73. I was not his sex toy. I made it clear to him that I did not want to be touched, unless I said so.	5	-5	-1	-3

This perception is consistent with traits attributed to the "China Doll" stereotype that claims Chinese women are sexually submissive and available to men.

Similar to Factor II, women loading significantly on Factor III sorted in agreement that they maintained some control of the relationship through seduction.

	Ia	Ib	II	III
51. I would "tease" him in a seductive way, I enjoyed seeing him squirm. This made me feel sexy and in control.	-5	3	5	5

Consistent with the "Dragon Lady" stereotype these women perceived themselves to wield power over their dating partners when they manipulated the men with the excitement from the promise of gratification that was implied through seduction.

It is apparent that women loading strongly on Factor III conformed to the same stereotypes they rejected. Similar to Factors Ia and II, the women of Factor III did not feel their dating partners perceived them as stereotypical Chinese women, however, this was not reinforced by the results of the rest of their Q sort. Like Factor II, the women agreed that their

dating partners perceived them as stereotypical Chinese. The women did not perceive themselves as fitting the popular stereotype of Chinese women which was inconsistent with the acknowledgement that they exhibit characteristics conforming to different stereotypes: the "Silent Oriental"--quiet and inscrutable; the "China Doll"--deferential, passive caretakers who are sexually submissive; and the "Dragon Lady"--sexually manipulative.

Factor IV

Five sorts formed Factor IV. As indicated in table 1, participants 5, 8, 25, 27, and 34 defined this factor. Similar to Factors Ia, II and III, the women of Factor IV sorted in agreement with the statement that their dating partners did not perceived them as fitting the typical "China Doll" stereotype of Chinese women. But unlike the other factors, women loading significantly on this factor were the only subjects to sort negative on the statement that they perceived themselves to fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women in their most recent dating experience with a white male.

	Ia	Ib	II	III	IV
84. I didn't fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women (quiet, submissive, passive, etc.).	2	0	1	2	-2

This is reinforced by the women sorting in agreement to pro-stereotype statements which describe them as passive and submissive caretakers.

		Ia	Ib	II	III	IV
58.	I picked up after him a lot. It felt good to help him out.	-4	2	-3	-1	4
46.	I was supportive of the choices he made and the things he did even if I didn't understand or agree with him.	-4	4	-3	3	5
48.	I stroked his ego a lot. I would pamper and fuss over him, I was sensitive to his needs and would do things that I thought he wanted me to do.	-5	5	-5	-2	5
78.	I did whatever I wanted. I always put myself first before anyone or anything else.	1	-1	3	5	-4
81.	I was able to take care of myself. I didn't need him to protect me from anything.	4	-4	1	3	-5

These women did not put their needs before others. They did what they thought their dating partner wanted and needed in a role that was very accommodating.

The women of Factor IV sorted positive to statements that described them as equal to the men in the dating relationship. They also sorted positive to statements that describe them as independent and feisty. These characteristics are inconsistent with the traits attributed to the "China Doll" stereotype which they readily agreed they exhibited in the same dating relationship.

Similar to Factor Ib, the women of this factor sorted in agreement to the statement that their dating partners expected them to comply with their sexual wishes.

	Ia	Ib	II	III	IV
4. He expected me to "put out". He thought he could have his way with me.	-4	3	-4	-3	5

This perception of the women as sexually submissive reinforces the "China Doll" stereotype.

However, women loading significantly on this factor sorted in strong agreement to statements that describe them as in control of the physical aspect of the relationship.

	Ia	Ib	II	III	IV
61. We had a mutual understanding when it came to the physical aspect of our relationship.	2	-5	-2	-2	5
73. I was not his sex toy. I made it clear to him that I did not want to be touched, unless I said so.	5	-5	-1	-3	3

This opposes the "China Doll" stereotype and although they attended to many of the needs of their dating partners (as mentioned earlier), the women, like Factor Ia, felt they had control of their bodies and what was done to them.

It is apparent that women of Factor IV accepted the stereotypes of Chinese women with a few modifications. Unlike factors Ia, II and III, Factor IV women perceived themselves as fitting "China Doll" stereotype which was reinforced by the perception of themselves as caretakers to their dating partners and the need to feel protected by them (but this may also reflect a simple conformity to traditional gender expectations). Inconsistent with this stereotype, the women

perceived themselves, along with how they felt their dating partners perceived them, as independent, feisty, and equal to the men in the relationships. Also inconsistent with the stereotype is how the women felt they were in total control of their bodies and the physical part of the dating relationship.

Similar to Factors Ia, II and III, the women of Factor IV felt their dating partners did not perceive them as fitting the "China Doll" stereotype. But the women's belief that their dating partners perceived them as sexually submissive is inconsistent with this perception.

The Interviews

The Q study generated four different factors and one opposing view. Factor Ia consistently sorted negative on pro-stereotype statements and positive on anti-stereotype statements. The opposing view to Factor Ia (represented as Ib), consistently sorted positive on pro-stereotype statements and negative on anti-stereotype statements. The other three factors (II, III, and IV) sorted inconsistently on pro- and anti-stereotype statements. The Q sort was used to uncover the subtleties of differences between factors (or groups) since it sorts people and not items. This is a summary of those differences.

In the context of their most recent dating experience with a white male Factors Ia, II, and IV rejected the "China

Doll" stereotype claiming they did not perceive themselves in this manner.

I never felt I was like [the "China Doll" stereotype] at all. (Ia)

That is not me. I may be a lot of things but that is not one of them. I don't think I was ever like that with [him]. (Ia)

But inconsistent with this claim, Factors II and III had sorted in agreement to exhibiting traits commonly associated with the "China Doll" stereotype.

Really? I guess I wasn't aware of it. I still don't consider myself [like the "China Doll" stereotype]. I still don't think I was but I guess maybe I did act that way. (II)

They were not aware of this inconsistency but believed they did not fit the "China Doll" stereotype. They didn't want to think they displayed stereotypical traits although they conformed to aspects of the stereotype.

The Factor Ib had no opinion on whether they perceived themselves to fit the "China Doll" stereotype although similar to Factors II and IV had sorted in strong agreement to displaying characteristics of the popular stereotype of Chinese women.

I didn't know how to answer that at the time. I really didn't know what the criteria was. (Chuckle)...maybe I am a typical Chinese woman but just didn't want to admit it! (Ib)

Factor IV was the only factor to admit conforming to the "China Doll" stereotype in their most recent dating experience with a white man.

In that context I had to say I was the typical little Chinese woman. I'm quite aware of what [the] stereotype is and I'm pretty sure I was it.
(IV)

With respect to how they felt their white dating partners perceived them, Factor Ib felt their dating partners perceived them as exhibiting qualities associated with the "China Doll" stereotype. The other factors (Ia, II, III, and IV) claimed their dating partners did not perceive them fitting the "China Doll" stereotype.

I think he thought I was anything but [that]. He knew there were too many qualities about me that would disqualify me as the typical Chinese woman.
(Ia)

No, he wouldn't describe me like that. That's not the way he knew me. (II)

But for Factors III and IV this was not consistent with the rest of their sorts particularly with statements dealing with their partners' perception of them with respect to this stereotype.

There was a common belief among these four factors (Ia, II, III, and IV) that their dating partners viewed Chinese women according to popular stereotypes but that the women felt their dating partners perceived them (the interview subjects) as "the exception."

I never had the feeling that he thought I was a stereotypical Chinese woman....besides, he didn't think I was like all the other Chinese girls. He thought I was different. (III)

He didn't think I was like other Asian women he had contact with. (Ia)

[He] told me himself that he found me very different from other Chinese women. (II)

These subjects expressed that their dating partners stereotyped Chinese women but viewed them (the subjects) as the exception to the rule.

All the women interviewed, except for two representing Factor Ia, felt their dating partners had certain sexual expectations as a result of their Asian-ness.

He wanted his own little China girl,...like that song [by David Bowie]. Someone exotic to fulfil a couple of fantasies, if you know what I mean....Take care of him, I guess....Don't talk back like white girls do. (IV)

[Giggles] He naturally assumed I was good in bed, oh! and intelligent of course, good house-keeper... (Ib)

I think because he held certain beliefs about Chinese people that he held certain beliefs about Chinese women. I'm not sure where he got his ideas from but it showed in how he dealt with me....I think he automatically thought I was [sexually] experienced because he was hoping I would be and I think he...expected me to go along with it. (Ia)

I think he assumed I would put out because I'm Asian and Asian women are supposed to be so sensual and everything. (III)

It is apparent that, unfair as it seems, these women felt there were expectations of a sexual nature because of their ethnicity but these expectations were not limited to their most recent white dating partner; they felt all white men and even women at times view them this way. One woman blamed the media for these expectations.

People's image of Chinese women come from reruns of "The World According to Suzy Wong" and "L'eggs with silk" commercials. Anytime you see a Chinese woman portrayed on T.V. she's either oozing sexuality just waiting for sex or she's someone's pitiful little servant. (Ia)

However, some women felt sexual expectations were not related in any way to her ethnicity.

Yeah, I think he expected me to put out. I think he expected all women to [put out]....I don't think this was just particular to him, I think most men see most women this way regardless of colour. (II)

Another woman added that she felt sexual expectations was related to power.

Sex, and the expectations of it, is something that men and women have fought for control over since the beginning of time. [Men] don't expect me to comply with their wants and needs because I'm Asian and Asian women are supposed to be so sensual and sexual. [They] expect me to give in because I'm a woman. I never took it as anything personal but it's because I'm a woman and that's just how men treat us. It's this constant struggle over who has the say in what's done to the woman. So, if a man thinks he has the control then, yeah, he expects a woman to put up. (Ia)

Power and control was a theme that surfaced in all the interviews. Half the women felt they were able to maintain some control of their most recent dating relationship with a white man through their independence from and equality with their dating partners. Factor Ia consistently sorted the Q sort statements strongly in terms of how they viewed themselves as independent and equal and how their dating partners also viewed them this way.

I felt it was important to establish who I was from the start. I think the beginning of the relationship sets the tone and pace for the remainder....I see myself as very independent and self-sufficient...and I know he saw this. (Ia)

Factors II and IV also viewed themselves as independent and felt their dating partners perceived them in this manner although this was inconsistent with how they sorted other statements. Factors Ia, II, and IV sorted in agreement with strong qualities that are often associated as positive male traits (Eagly and Mladinic 1989) but were associated by these women as traits attributed to feminists.

I see myself as a feminist...and this extends to how I deal with men. (Ia)

I've travelled far in terms of how I went from being mousy and weak to stronger and assertive. This road to self-discovery brought me closer to feminist ideas...I identify myself in terms of those ideas. (II)

These women identified themselves with pro-feminist qualities that assist in maintaining some sort of leverage in their relationships.

However, some women (represented by factors Ib, II, and III) maintained control of their relationships through other means, such as seduction and manipulation.

Getting what I want through seduction isn't something I'm proud of but I get the feeling sometimes that some men...see me a certain way and when I act it, they get all excited and I can make them jump through hoops. It's funny sometimes to watch how they get when I use my [female abilities]. (Ib)

This gave some women the feeling of being in charge.

By being in control of the physical relationship, his physical relationship, I was able to call the shots and keep some sort of control over how things were going. (III)

...I felt sexy and naughty and in control all at the same time. Every woman has done this at one time or another and if she says no, then she's lying. (Ib)

If you can, use it. Gain an edge. I can be a tease and be innocent at the same time. It's all part of being a woman and if men are going to be that stupid to fall for it, then by all means, use it! (II)

One third of the interview subjects felt it was their right as a woman to use this type of behaviour to their advantage in a relationship.

(laughter) Yeah, yeah, I did that. I'm a real stinker sometimes when I resort to doing that to get what I want. But I put up with a lot and it kept [him] in line. (Ib)

When I think about it, my conscience gets to me, but guys expect this kind of behaviour from [Chinese women] and when it happens they're not disappointed. (III)

This last statement refers to expectations of a sexual nature which were mentioned earlier. This woman conformed to expectations and in the process felt she gained power.

Twelve out of 16 women believed that as a result of expectations of a sexual nature some men develop a preference for Chinese (and Asian) women.

Some guys have a thing for dating one particular type of kind of woman. I dated one of them. I was his prize for the moment and yeah, I knew exactly what was going on. (IV)

For some guys, that's what turns them on. It's like how some guys prefer blonds, well, some prefer Orientals. (II)

One woman summed it up when she compared this attraction to a conquest.

White men really get off on that sensual, Oriental thing. To them it's a mystery, something which needs to be explored and tamed. It's a real challenge to them. (Ia)

Some women claimed they did not view this attraction as necessarily a 'bad' thing. This view is represented by the following.

So what's the big deal? That in a perfect world men are not supposed to judge you on your looks? Some women have pretty faces, some have big tits to lure men with. If I get [white] men because I'm Asian, I don't see it as something bad. They eventually get to know me and that's the reason they stick around, how you look can get tiring after awhile. The novelty fades with time. (III)

While this woman observed the harsh reality of the dating scene she diminishes her position as a woman of colour to that of a 'novelty.' Other women voiced how their "Asian-ness" was an enticement to attract (white) men and used it to their full advantage--an advantage in the 'dating game.'

I like being different. It took me a long time to get used to it, since I'm from a very white area. But being different has its advantages and I do take full advantage of it when I can especially when it comes to attracting someone I want to notice me. (II)

My present boyfriend noticed me at a party because I stood out. There were all sorts of white girls and me, and I guess I had the edge. (Ib)

Still, there were others who felt their skin colour and physical features didn't matter to men or anyone else.

Its the 90's. I don't think being non-white is as much a big a deal as it was twenty years ago. I know I don't care. (Ia)

I don't think it matters. Does anyone really notice anymore? I don't think that's an issue....If I get self-conscious because I notice I'm not white and other people are, then it's my problem. (III)

I prefer to think that men aren't as shallow as they were in the past. Maybe I'm giving them too much credit, but I think men look past the physical and concentrate on the person. (IV)

These statements are representative of Factors Ia, III, and IV in which the women sorted positive on the statement that their most recent dating partners were attracted to their personalities and not the way they looked.

With respect to the popular stereotype of Chinese people in general (hard-working, studious, reserved, quiet, etc.), as outlined in the Literature Review, Factors Ib, II, and III sorted positive on statements revealing their dating partners to perceived them as fitting that stereotype. The opposite was sorted by Factors Ia and IV. In terms of how they perceived themselves with regards to this stereotype all the factors (Ib, II, III, IV) except Factor Ia sorted positive on pro-stereotype statements indicating that they exhibited traits normally associated with the general stereotype of Chinese people (in the context of their most recent dating experience with a white male).

Nine of the 16 interview subjects made references during the interviews to the differences in their behaviour in the public sphere and the private sphere of their lives. A

difference exists in how they perceived themselves in public (work, school, social events, public outings, etc.) and in private (one-on-one interactions, dating, close friends, family).

Somehow, when I'm with a man, you know, in private when it's just the two of us, I'm a completely different person. People who know me would laugh if they heard me say that I'm submissive when I'm alone with a man, but it's true. (Ib)

My public face is different. In private, what I do...is nobody's business. (III)

When I'm with him, yes, I'm more relaxed and I'm probably more passive. But that's not how I am when I'm out there. (Ia)

Like people in general, these women acknowledged they have many dimensions and many faces for different situations.

Fourteen of the 16 women interviewed for this study felt each dating experience has its own unique qualities but pertaining to stereotypes (how they viewed themselves and how they felt their dating partners viewed them) their most recent dating experience with a white man was representative of their other dating experiences with white men.

Eleven of the 16 interview subjects have exclusively dated white men but claimed they did not have a preference for white men.

I don't have a preference for any colour, white, black or yellow. It has nothing to do with colour. The men I've dated I was attracted to their personalities not their looks. (II)

I did not set out to only date [white men] it just happens that way. I'm open to dating Asian men and black men. I just haven't found one I wanted to date. (Ia)

But women who had dated Chinese men had this to say:

I don't know what it is about Chinese men, but the two I dated were...immature. We were always on different wavelengths...it wasn't much fun. (III)

...I thought they were socially stunted and that was transferred onto me....It's no fun when you're with someone who can't carry a conversation with other people and you constantly have to pay attention and bail him out. (II)

These two women paint pictures of Chinese men as socially inept. When questioned about the physical part of their relationships with Chinese men, the women revealed further bias against Chinese men.

Hah! Chinese men? You're kidding, right?...I think one guy really wanted to have his way with me, but he repressed it, or is that suppressed? Anyways, can you imagine? Really...that wouldn't be too "nice Chinese boy"-like, would it? (II)

...They were very proper that way. God knows the ones I dated would probably feel guilty at even the thought of touching me. (III)

These reactions to Chinese men as sexually incapable were reinforced by similar sentiments of other women.

Chinese boys wouldn't know what to do. Most of them are so socially stunted and awkward that I can't see them ever getting intimate until they get married and had to. (IV)

Although this last statement was made by a woman who never dated an Asian man, her comments reflect a belief in the de-masculinized stereotype of Chinese men--that they make lousy lovers and are sexually immature (Chin et. al. 1991).

Another woman (who also never dated an Asian man), when asked about the factors that contributed to her lack of

interest in dating Asian men revealed that she felt Chinese men expected her to be a woman in the traditional sense.

I find [Chinese men] expect me to be very traditional, and I'm not. I'm not in the habit of deferring to anybody, especially someone who expects me to be the perfect little Chinese woman....I'm not turned on by Asian men at all. I get the feeling that they'll try to stifle me. (Ia)

This is echoed by another woman who preferred white dating partners because she felt they were more accepting.

When [I] started to date, I was automatically drawn to white men, no question about that. I saw Asian men...especially Chinese men, to be closed-minded, yeah, they didn't seem as liberal and accepting as white men. (II)

Another woman resisted against what was instilled in her by her mother.

I hate to say it, but they don't thrill me. They're too backwards. [My] mother said that one day she'll find me a nice Chinese boy, I suppose that meant I'll be someone's nice Chinese girl. Gross! I want to avoid that, thank you. (IV)

One woman just wanted to blend in.

[I] couldn't....when I was younger...the thought of being seen with a Chinese boy would be embarrassing. The area I grew up was mostly white and I think I never got over wanting to just blend in. Don't ask me why, that's the way I felt. The few [Chinese] boys I knew were, you know, chess club or science club [members]. (IV)

These women voiced their contempt for dating Chinese men. In his study of Chinese-Caucasian interracial dating in the U.S., Weiss (1970) found that Chinese American females who regularly date Caucasians can be quite vehement in their denunciation and disapproval of Chinese American males as dating partners.

Two of the 11 women who had never dated a Chinese man revealed they would never marry a white man.

I can never see myself marrying a white man....As long as I can remember I always pictured myself [marrying] someone Chinese. (Ia)

I can't see myself marrying a white man. I mean, it's O.K. for other [Chinese] women...if that's what they want. But for me, I want to marry someone Chinese--that's important for me, well, and my parents. I enjoy dating [white men] but I never see any future in it. (Ib)

Some women voiced similar sentiments over what they felt was expected of them: that there was strong parental and familial pressure to marry within the Chinese community.

Dating white [men] is fine with my family so long as I don't get serious with them. (IV)

My parents didn't even like me to date white guys. They were always afraid if I married them...it would be so shameful...and the kids would look funny. (II)

While others did not feel any pressure.

I've never talked to my parents about it but I think they've seen so many of their friends' sons and daughters marry white people that it wouldn't be a big deal if I did. (II)

My parents really liked the last guy I dated and he was white. So, no, I don't think they would have any objections if I married a white man. To them, I don't think it has much to do with colour, he treats me good, then it's fine with them. (Ia)

All interview subjects agreed that acceptance from their family was very important to them when choosing a potential mate. With friends, all the women felt their friends' acceptance of their dating partners was never based on skin

colour. They felt their friends' opinions of their dating partners often centred on personality and not skin colour.

All the interview subjects acknowledged that they are very aware of colour differences when they date a white man.

When I'm dating someone white, it's blatantly obvious that there's a difference in our skin colour. I can't deny being aware of that and I'm sure other people notice too. (Ib)

The colour difference is there. You can't get away from it. And if you think no one notices: bam! Someone comes along and reminds you that you're not white. Or else, something happens in the relationship where you both have to acknowledge it somehow. (III)

But a large portion of the women (13 out of 16) felt society in general accepts Chinese-Caucasian dating.

Society is more accepting of this kind of interracial dating then, say, twenty or thirty years ago. It's not considered taboo anymore. (Ia)

There's lots of interracial dating going on....Any combination, name it. People have more things to worry about than [interracial] mingling. (IV)

However, four interview subjects mentioned that Chinese people appear less accepting of Chinese-Caucasian dating.

When I'm out with a white man white people don't stare or make comments. Neither do black people. It's Asians and more specifically Chinese people who are offended by it. (Ib)

The rudest looks I get when I'm with someone white is from Chinese people. Not the younger ones, but the older ones. They still haven't gotten used to the idea. (II)

In her study of Chinese American intermarriage, Betty Lee Sung (1990) found that opposition to these unions is usually greater from the Chinese side. Chinese families often feel

they are losing a family member to strangers who have nothing in common with them.

Discussion

This study examined Chinese women's perception of themselves with respect to the popular stereotype (of Chinese women) in the context of their most recent dating experience with a white male and what they felt was the perception of their respective dating partners regarding them (the women) and these same stereotypes. It was revealed that the majority of Chinese women in this study (73%) did not perceive themselves to fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women in their most recent dating experience with a white male. An even larger portion of these women (84%) felt their white dating partners did not perceive them to fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women. In an attempt to account for these results, this discussion is divided into three sections: The Stereotypes, Coping, and Assimilation. The first section explores how interview subjects perceive popular stereotypes of Chinese women and the changes in these stereotypes. The second section is a discussion of the coping mechanisms utilized by Chinese women when confronted with popular stereotypes of Chinese women. The final section is an examination of assimilation and its affect on Chinese women, stereotypes, and dating.

The Stereotypes

In the literature review, different stereotypes of Chinese women (and Chinese people in general) were identified. Three of these stereotypes are: the "China Doll," the "Dragon Lady," and the "Silent Oriental." Each of these stereotypes are examined here.

The "China Doll"

The 16 subjects interviewed for this study were aware of and unanimously agreed that a popular stereotype of Chinese women exists. The stereotype described by many subjects was similar to that of the "China Doll" in the literature review. Traits such as submissive, passive, subservient, deferential, delicate, soft-spoken, and weak were often mentioned.

I think Chinese women are looked upon as weak and powerless...servants who do everyone's bidding,...frail, as delicate things and I mean things, not people, but [Chinese] women are seen as things, as objects, as possessions, as secondary to the men--Chinese and especially white [men]. (II)

...Chinese women are stereotyped as passive to the extreme. They yearn for approval. They are characterized as having no voices, no opinions, no lives except for the roles they play.

[Like what?]

Well, as wife, mother, sister, mistress, slut, whatever. They live for those they serve. They give in to just about everything. People step all over them. (IV)

...There are a lot of popular misconceptions of Chinese women. I guess [white] people, men and women, think Chinese women are delicate....soft, delicate things that need to be protected... spineless, long-suffering, quiet, submissive, very submissive,...giving in a lot,... (Ia)

It's the perfect picture of femininity--from a male point of view, of course. [The "China Doll" stereotype] embodies all the ultra-female qualities considered good if displayed by a woman. (Ia)

There was a feeling among many of the interview subjects that the popular perception of Chinese women was a negative perception. One woman explained:

Yes, it is a negative view, but when dealing with stereotypes, stereotypes are almost always negative. I mean, obviously there's a reason why Chinese women are stereotyped in this way and it certainly isn't based on truth. It's based on a lot of misinterpretation of Chinese culture and also based from the view of a white patriarchal social order. (Ia)

A handful of subjects, those representing the opposing view to Factor Ia, did not perceive anything negative with the "China Doll" stereotype. They felt the "China Doll" stereotype embodied traditional female qualities.

...there are positive aspects to [the stereotype]. It's not necessarily bad to be viewed as traditionally feminine. (Ib)

I know it bothers some [Chinese] women. I personally have no problems with it. There's positive and negative qualities in all stereotypes. [I] don't take it so seriously. I like being looked at as having fine female qualities. (Ib)

These were the same qualities which had some interview subjects fired up.

Oh! I hate that. I hate how women, and not just Chinese women, are kept down with stereotypes and roles like that. It is very damaging when weak characteristics are given to women and men get the strong qualities....Some women actually buy into it and never realize that. (Ia)

Haven't we had enough? Like, how are women suppose to get anywhere in life if that's what we have constantly shoved down our throats?...the symbol of womanhood as cowering and subservient, great. (II)

What upset these subjects the most was the subordinated position given to women and not just Chinese women.

All of the interviewed subjects who felt they did not fit the "China Doll" stereotype in the context of their most recent dating experience with a white male showed contempt for Chinese women who exhibit the very traits which they rejected for themselves.

It all goes back to who's ruining it for whom. Women who act according to that stereotype perpetuate it and ruin it for the rest of us who are trying to get past that. (II)

I hate it when I see Chinese women act that way. I hate it when I see any woman act that way. What they do in private is fine but when it's out in public and it's so obvious it offends me....It doesn't help the image of Chinese women either. (Ia)

Although most of the interviewed subjects believed the stereotype of Chinese women to be negative, many felt that the popular perception of Chinese women is undergoing change.

I think a lot of people are aware of the stereotype of Chinese women but are exposed to Chinese women more now than ever before and....because of exposure I feel that there's a new stereotype of the Chinese woman that's beginning to come out. Sure, the old one will stick around for a while, that can't be helped,... (Ia)

Definitely. It's changing....That stereotype represented something from decades ago and the times have moved on...and so have Chinese and Asian women. (Ia)

...it's certainly moving away from the weak, mousy thing to something a little more...mainstream. Something a little more positive and encouraging. (III)

With the exception of interview subjects representing Factor Ib (they didn't have any opinions on changing stereotypes of Chinese women), all subjects representing the other factors gave their impression of the new stereotype of Chinese women as educated, intelligent, independent, and caring.

Intelligent....Independent and assertive. (Ia)

The visibility of Chinese women in the work force has an impact on how the greater society perceives us as a group. I think the new stereotype of Chinese women is the positive aspects of the old stereotype, such as caring, unselfish and loyal, coupled with some new things like assertive, independent, smart, decisive. (IV)

Visibility and contact, to many of the interview subjects, play a major role in changing the popular perception of Chinese women.

The "Dragon Lady"

The "Dragon Lady" stereotype, based on the literature review, Factor Ib (or the opposing view to Factor Ia) was the only factor to consistently sort in strong agreement with this stereotype. However, most of the interview subjects felt the "Dragon Lady" stereotype is not specific to Chinese (or Asian)

women. They felt this is an extension of wishful-thinking (white) men to further fulfil their bad girl fantasies.

"Dragon Lady?" I don't know if I'd call it that. I know there was the "sensual oriental" thing. Simple, it's an oriental slut. (Ia)

How many variations of the bad girl do men have? This one of Chinese women is...just another male fantasy...of how men wish women are. (Ia)

Ten, twelve years ago I experienced quite a few [white] men sneaking up behind me in bars and telling me how sensual and exotic I was. I haven't heard that line in a while. I think that [stereotype] has changed. Now men think all women are available to them. (III)

The sexual stereotype of Chinese women is perceived by these women as nothing more than a bad girl stereotype and not related in any way to their race or ethnicity. All but two ignored the racial aspect of the "Dragon Lady" stereotype. Most of the interview subjects felt sexual stereotypes had an affect on them more so than racial stereotypes. These sexual stereotypes centred on the good girl/bad girl dichotomy and the double standard experienced by all women.

Most of the subjects believed that the traits attributed to the "Dragon Lady" have changed. In the past "Dragon Lady" implied an Asian woman who is simultaneously dangerous and enticing to men, cruel and treacherous in her ways, sexual to the same degree that she is dangerous; yet, this does not seem to apply anymore. All the interview subjects (with the exception of Factor Ib) described the "Dragon Lady" as something entirely different that is unrelated to race.

When I hear that I picture an aggressive, assertive woman who doesn't take shit from anyone. Someone to be avoided, if she's against you, admired if she's on your side. (Ia)

A bitch. A selfish, cutthroat, bitch. (IV)

Someone, a woman, who will bite your head off if given the chance. (Ib)

I have no idea. Someone you should not know. (Ib)

A female ball-breaker in the corporate world. (III)

An older, uptight,...bitter, mean spinster. (II)

A woman with bad breath? (II)

An extremely pushy woman who will do anything to get what she wants. She is cold, calculating, and puts herself first above all else. (IV)

These descriptions do not foster a sexual image nor are they particular to Chinese women which illustrates how far stereotypes travel from their origins or perhaps unrelated stereotypes share common titles that they are known by.

The "new" stereotype of Asian women (as perceived by Chinese women) is thought to be less concentrated on the physical and sexual. An explanation of this may be found by looking at the evolution of the Asian male stereotype. At the beginning of this century, Chinese men were depicted as virile sexual predators (Fong 1989). With the onset of "model minority" status, Chinese and Asian men went through a process of desexualization--the masculine and physical (sexual) traits were taken away in order to counterbalance the newly bestowed traits of intelligence and professionalism. The cerebral was substituted for the physical. Chinese women, like their male

counterparts, have achieved higher status due to increased education and upward mobility. Perhaps the new concentration on the cerebral abilities of Chinese women will result in the desexualization of Chinese female stereotypes.

The "Silent Oriental"

The interview subjects all agreed that there exists a popular "Model Minority" perception of Chinese people as intelligent, studious, industrious, and good citizens. Over half the subjects felt they fit this stereotype to some degree.

I have to say that I do fit that description and that many people close to me would also agree.
(III)

As much as I hate stereotypes I think I actually fit in that category. (II)

One woman explained that she felt accepting of this stereotype for herself because it is a positive stereotype and a positive image of Chinese people whereas the "China Doll" stereotype was a negative image of Chinese women.

I don't mind being associated with this stereotype because I think, for the most part, that it's a positive stereotype, if there is such a thing. I mean, there are worst things to be described as. The stereotype of Chinese people as productive and model citizens is certainly a better stereotype than some of the ones in the past. (II)

However, one aspect of the "Model Minority" stereotype--the "Silent Oriental" is one that received mixed reviews from the interview subjects. The image of the "Silent Oriental" was viewed by some as negative.

That stereotype has [Chinese] people outlined as voiceless, spineless, cowering in front of [white] authority. This serves to silence people into submission, to keep them in line, under control. There's nothing positive about it. (Ia)

This is a dangerous image. ...silence can be viewed as having control and able to keep things under control, but... it can also be viewed as having no power to speak. (III)

Others were indifferent:

I don't care. I don't think it's negative. (Ib)

Being perceived as quiet and sedate isn't necessarily a bad thing. It may not be good, but it isn't bad. There's worst things to be described as. (II)

It is apparent that there are different opinions on the "Silent Oriental," however, most of the interview subjects felt this description applied more to Chinese men than women.

I don't think we're looked upon in the same manner as [Chinese] men. (II)

When people think of the silent oriental they think of [Chinese] men not [Chinese] women. (IV)

I never thought this was applied to the women. For some reason I assumed [Chinese] women were exempt from this. (Ia)

According to these women Chinese men and women are not perceived in the same manner. They emphasized the feeling that society view Chinese men and women differently. North American society has historically been given to negative stereotypes of the Chinese male (Kim 1990:78). The Chinese female image (with particular emphasis on Chinese feminine beauty and charm), on the other hand, has been more readily accepted by the public (Weiss 1970:274).

Coping

In this study, Chinese women believed their white dating partners generally do not perceive them in terms of the popular "China Doll" stereotype of Chinese women yet, most of the women in this study felt they conformed to some aspects of this traditional stereotype. In dating situations (with white males) this study found three different strategies Chinese women used to cope with the expectations surrounding popular stereotypes of them. These three coping strategies are labelled: acceptance, rejection, and negotiation. Each of these strategies will be examined individually with respect to their corresponding factors.

Acceptance

The opposing view to Factor Ia (represented as Factor Ib) was the only group that sorted consistently with pro-stereotype statements. The women interviewed for this factor claimed they played the role of the domestic and subservient "China Doll" in the context of their most recent dating experience with a white male. These women identified with all aspects of the stereotype. The women conformed to this role based not on race but on gender.

Ya, I guess I did exhibit those characteristics...and I did those kinds of things....I don't think it had anything to do with being a Chinese woman and what's expected....After years of being programmed to be domestic...training to be a housewife, it's difficult to say. (Ib)

Just going over some of the "China Doll" traits, they don't sound to me like they're particular to Chinese women....If I acted that way at all I think it's because of what society tells me is expected of me as a woman... (Ib)

This reflects the beliefs of the other interview subjects (mentioned earlier) that the "China Doll" stereotype is an extension of the traditional role assigned to women.

Women who accept this stereotype never questioned their behaviour.

...This happens to be the way I handled that relationship. I didn't stop to reason why. (Ib)

I never thought of the way I behave in a relationship, especially in those terms. (Ib)

And were not aware of any alternatives.

I don't know how else to be around a man. This is something I've learned over the years. I mean, I don't know if I could be any other way even if I wanted to... (Ib)

These women found it easier to conform to the stereotype than explore other possibilities. However, they felt pressure to conform.

If I wasn't this way, I don't think I would have dated as much as I did. (Ib)

But this pressure was not limited to white males.

I think Chinese men expect Chinese women to act like that. I think they [Chinese men] expect that much more than white men. (Ib)

Everyone wants me to be like the typical Chinese girl. I know my parents and their friends look down on [Chinese] women who do not act the way they're suppose to. (Ib)

Acceptance of the popular stereotype of Chinese women is not only encouraged by white males but also by the Chinese

community.

Women who accept the popular stereotype of Chinese women felt the feminine ideal of Chinese women was an advantage in the dating world (similar to what was mentioned earlier) but they believed there are also advantages outside of that context.

Oh, I don't know, it's like in the grand scheme of things I get rewarded by doing what is expected of me....I'm a chameleon, I suit my surroundings....I don't say much because I really don't have much to say. (Ib)

Acceptance of the "China Doll" stereotype fits nicely into what they perceived as their lifestyle choice.

Life is a lot smoother and more predictable. If I act the way I'm supposed to and do what's expected of me I know there are certain things I can count on. (Ib)

These women are comfortable with their identity as women fitting the "China Doll" stereotype and are resistant to change.

I can't see how the stereotype of Chinese women is going to change. There's a reason why stereotypes exists and the stereotype of Chinese women, I know, is a pretty accurate one. It describes me really well. (Ib)

There are too many other Chinese women like me, and society only see us this way. (Ib)

Fear played a role in this resistance to change.

I've been brought up to follow certain "guidelines" and the rug can't just be pulled out from under me like that. (Ib)

They accepted the popular stereotype of Chinese women; these women have really bought into it. They never saw any

alternative to fitting the stereotype. They felt they were born with it and that's just the way they are. Besides, they didn't see what all the fuss is about.

It's only a stereotype, some people fit it some don't. Some people see you as it but it's not a big deal if you're not. (Ib)

Negotiation

Factors II, III, and IV sit somewhere between acceptance and rejection of the "China Doll" stereotype of Chinese women. They sorted inconsistently to pro- and anti-stereotype statements. These women prefer to think they reject the stereotype in their most recent dating experience with a white man but they also admitted to exhibiting behaviours that conform to the "China Doll" stereotype although they felt their dating partners did not think they conformed to this stereotype.

During the interview, these women explained that they did not conform to the "China Doll" stereotype in all situations, just some; such as dating.

I do show that side, sometimes, usually when I'm dating a guy. (IV)

I don't like to acknowledge that side of me. I'm only like that when I'm in a relationship, when I'm most vulnerable. (III)

Some women felt it was related to socialization.

When I'm not sure how to act I go by what I've learned. (IV)

[From where?]

Oh, you know, from talking to friends, advice and that sort of thing. Books, T.V. like talk shows. How else do you learn about relationships and dating? Everything I've learned about that was second hand. (IV)

And when these women didn't know how to act they resorted to guidelines set out by stereotypes since that was "common knowledge" of how men and women relate to each other and how women are suppose to act. The stereotypes these women conform to may well be the 'China Doll' stereotype or may be the stereotype of the traditional role of women. Gender and cultural expectations inherent in the traditional role of women cannot be easily separated from racial expectations of the 'China Doll.' The stereotypes these women conform to may well be the 'China Doll' stereotype or it may be the stereotype of the traditional role of women. Gender and cultural expectations inherent in the traditional role of women cannot be easily separated from racial expectations.

The women tolerate the stereotype and modify their behaviours to suit the needs of the situation. They felt intimidated that the men would not like them if they did not play certain roles occasionally.

[It's] out of fear of rejection. I'm afraid he won't like me if I do certain things, so to placate his expectations of me, I...I comply with what the situation requires... (III)

So that the women were constantly negotiating and re-negotiating in each situation, constantly grappling with their conscience.

Sometimes it's easier to take the path of least resistance....And I don't realize 'till later what's happening. But, yeah, it's my reaction to certain situations and I have to live with it. (II)

As it seems often upon reflection that they do realize they conform to the stereotype.

These women are ambivalent about their identity as a woman and as a Chinese person.

I don't know where I sit with respect to being a woman and being Chinese at the same time....The social roles of Chinese women are so constraining that I find myself resisting against it but at the same time I feel a tug to conform to these same roles. (III)

Sometimes I don't know if I should identify myself as a woman first or as Chinese first. Sometimes I resent having to choose between the two. (II)

[What about identifying yourself as a Chinese woman?]

No, that doesn't seem to work for me. I don't know if a specific identity of Chinese women exists--if it does, I have no idea what it is.... (II)

These women did not identify themselves as Chinese women. This may be due to the lack of visibility of Chinese women in society. These women do not seem to bond with nor identify with other women of Chinese descent.

Nevertheless, these particular women want to see changes in society's perception of Chinese women.

It would certainly be progress if that changed. I would like to see it. It'd be really nice if it did. (II)

Hopes for change.

I'm really confident of that. It's long overdue. (II)

But not in their lifetime.

Sure I hope it changes, but it's doubtful I'll be around to enjoy it. (III)

Because they feel that the "China Doll" stereotype is so prevalent in society that they are not sure if it is at all possible.

I don't know if [the "China Doll"] stereotype will ever be totally abolished....certain parts will change but it's been around for so long. (IV)

From the interviews it was apparent that the women of Factors II, III, and IV would not be the ones to lead the way for changes in the perception of Chinese women. They were not willing to stray from the safe haven of the structure of the way things are. They identified with some strong ideas of the changes they would like to see with respect to stereotypes of Chinese women (as mentioned earlier) but did not know how that would come about.

Rejection

Factor Ia women were the only ones in the study to consistently sort negative on pro-stereotype statements and positive on anti-stereotype statements. These subjects did not identify with the "China Doll" stereotype and did not feel their dating partners perceived them in this manner.

The women of Factor Ia rejected this stereotype because they felt it was not a fair stereotype and that it was not representative of Chinese women in general (as mentioned earlier in the "Stereotypes" section). They agreed that it

was probably more difficult to resist than to be passive but they were undoubtedly happier for doing what they could. Most of these women resisted the "China Doll" stereotype by making choices that are not considered to be part of the stereotype.

The big statement I made to my family and friends, and especially, my guidance counsellor [in high school], was to not go into a stereotypical Asian dominated field, such as math, computer science, business....I was good in those subjects but I hated the thought of having to pursue something in those fields only because it was expected of me.
(Ia)

For some, getting involved in the community and becoming active in social issues meant visibility.

It was very hard at first to get involved. I know I raised a few eyebrows but part of getting involved was to be seen and heard;... (Ia)

And getting vocal or having a voice meant the opposite of being the "Silent Oriental."

The most obvious thing to do when I don't want people to think I'm this little, shy, quiet thing, was to be loud, to voice my thoughts and surprise people that I can be assertive... (Ia)

For this woman, like many others, being assertive was to claim her identity. Some were tired of not being taken seriously.

I find I have to be assertive in order to be taken seriously....no one seems to want to take me seriously because I'm small and being small is equated with being delicate and frail. (Ia)

Resistance to stereotypes also appears in the physical form. Two women admitted to cutting their hair short so as to not resemble some male ideal.

I cut [my] hair really short to force men to look at my face, to see me as I am. I no longer wanted the long, black, silky hair that many men associate with sensuality and sexuality of Asian women....

(Ia)

Chinese women are only considered attractive if they have long beautiful hair. I didn't like the thought of having to conform in order to be considered attractive or to be accepted by anyone.

(Ia)

These women also expressed that the best way to dispel any myths or stereotypes of Chinese women while in a relationship was to be everything that is opposite to the stereotype. Most comments dealt with portraying confidence, standing up to men, speaking up, talking back, and fighting for herself.

If a man can't handle me because I'm not quiet, and subservient, and all that stuff, then, that's too bad. That means he expected me to be a certain way and he probably didn't like me for me. He liked me for what he thought I could be to him. (Ia)

This woman felt that if men get turned off, then perhaps she is better off.

In a dating situation, these women found white men to be more accepting of them as people than Chinese men.

I found white men more appealing because they let me be me....The expectations are different from Chinese men. I find the Chinese [men] expect me to be much more traditional...white men are more open and accepting. (Ia)

These women perceived Chinese men as more resistant to new female roles and white men were perceived as much more liberal. Ironically, these women are stereotyping Chinese men while they reject the stereotype of Chinese women.

The repercussions of dating white men were often felt by

the women to come from the older Chinese community (as mentioned earlier in the factor summary). They felt their Chinese male contemporaries did not have a problem with Chinese female-Caucasian male interracial dating. However, these women agreed that the reaction of family members, particularly parents, were mixed.

It was not surprising that these women identified with feminism. A comparison of overall dating experiences uncovered a connection made by these interview subjects between stereotypes of Chinese women and the power element in their dating relationships. They feel the popular stereotype of Chinese women is related to power and control.

We must look at where stereotypes come from and who benefits from it. It has to be connected to the fight between men and women...and that's the fight between who has the power to control women. (Ia)

A lot of things break down to gender issues and control....The fight against stereotypes of any woman has to start with the fight against sexism. (Ia)

To these women, it is not an issue of racism so much as one of sexism. It must be acknowledged that "the relationship between any individual woman and man cannot be understood without reference to the political structure of male supremacy and male domination, which invests each man with power over each woman" (Kitzinger 1987:134). Asian feminism plays a role in the rejection of stereotypes by Asian women. With the advent of feminism the changing sex role of Chinese females has affected their relationships with their parents and the

opposite sex (Fujitomi and Wong 1973).

These women are comfortable with their identity although they feel some people close to them (family members, friends, men, etc.) consider them to be radical and have deviated too far from tradition. They are proud of heritage but do not want any part of "tradition" and the "traditional role" of women that, in the past, have served to oppress women.

I'm still trying to figure out how to be me and hold on to my identity as a Chinese person. (Ia)

I want to hold on to my Chinese heritage without compromising myself as a woman. (Ia)

These women are trying to balance their heritage on the one hand with who they are today.

These women don't want to be bound by chains of old stereotypes and are not willing to compromise on that. They feel change is inevitable but slowly on its way.

Sure, I'm sick of those stereotypes. I'm sick of how people sometimes react to me because of them. But I'm not going to conform or change the way I live in order to fit some outdated expectations....Oh, it is changing, I feel it,...slowly but surely. (Ia)

But they feel changes in the perception of Chinese and Asian women can only come about after changes are made with respect to women in general.

This isn't just a race issue, it's also a gender issue....The more women out there, of any colour, who are visible and fighting for their rights, the more progress toward change we're all making....But this isn't going to happen overnight. The progress women are making will be followed by women of colour. (Ia)

It is evident from the interviews that these women are the

ones who are going to propel changes in the perception of Chinese and Asian women (in the workforce, in education, and in private relations). However, they are frustrated by the lack of momentum.

[Asian women] are starting to get organized, which is great, but the lack of organization causes many false starts and delays. (Ia)

I'm getting impatient waiting around for things to change....Not all Asian women seem to want to co-operate. (Ia)

When I feel Chinese women have taken a collective step forward something always happens to make me feel we're still four steps behind. (Ia)

But they are not without hope.

Assimilation

A comparison of dating experiences uncovered that despite different factor loadings all interview subjects were unanimous in their comfort with, and preference for, white men. These women lacked any attraction to Chinese males and accepted the de-masculinized Asian male stereotype. In this section, assimilation and its affects on stereotypes, dating, and Chinese women are examined in order to explain this phenomenon.

Assimilation is the process to which the social status of a minority group is evaluated by the majority as to the degree of conformity to WASP middle-class values (Kuo 1979:280). Over the past two decades there have been continual debates and controversy as to whether or not Asians (particularly the Chinese and Japanese) have "made it" in American society (Wong 1989:104). Although it is evident that Asians have become more acceptable to the larger society in recent years and have gained a reputation as the "model minorities" largely because of their favourable portrayal by the media (Kitano and Sue 1973), the recent media attention to rising Asian crime and the new "problem" of illegal Asian immigrants in North America may have an affect on the stereotype. Regardless, existing studies have documented that Asian-Americans are showing a healthy and promising rate of assimilation: successfully entering the North American middle-class, achieving high rates

of upward social mobility, and attaining higher average years of education than whites, though not higher incomes (Kuo 1979).¹ Success in occupational and educational status can serve to upgrade the group image, increase its members' self-confidence and pride of cultural heritage, and convince the majority that the minority group is able to handle its own problems (Kuo 1979).

Assimilation into North American society is not a process in which the minority group accepts certain American habits or traits for which in turn the American society receives those highly valued qualities of the minority group. Rather, it is a method of indoctrination by which certain North American values are inculcated and alien habits, customs, and values are destroyed (Ogawa 1971). The end product is not a romantic blend of two cultures, but the imposition of one culture over another.

The primary tool for social assimilation is the educational system; it is as good a place as any to destroy any of the old Chinese traits and to create the Anglo-Saxon values, the Protestant ethic, and middle class virtues (Ogawa 1971:16). And as the stereotype has been perpetuated, the Chinese and Japanese have been thoroughly and successfully indoctrinated in the schools.

To be well-educated means to be saturated with Anglo

¹This was also supported by comparing 1981 and 1991 Canada Census data (Statistics Canada 1984, 1993).

culture, language habits, and values. The Chinese go to school:

...with Anglos, the teacher is Anglo, the text books are in English. Anglo-American history is learned; Anglo literature is read; Anglo games are played; and Anglo holidays are celebrated. The well-educated Asians go to college, where they are trained to enter the American middle-class professional population. (Ogawa 1971:52)

The implements to complete (North) Americanization are provided.

The women interviewed for this study agreed that it is through the education system that they learned to take on the value systems, beliefs, customs, and preferences of North American society.

I went to school with mostly white kids, I was taught to think white, I wanted to be white. (IV)

When I started school, I stopped going to Chinese school because I felt it wasn't "cool." I stopped hanging around the Chinese kids who lived nearby....I even resisted speaking Chinese in the house...everything I did was based on wanting to be like everyone else at school, everyone white that is. (II)

One woman expressed sadness over the lack of time spent learning about her own culture.

I wish I paid more attention....I wish I knew then what I know now. So much time has been lost and I don't know if I could ever make up for that lost time....I think going to school tainted everything Chinese about me. (Ia)

Almost all of the women spoke of how they felt assimilation into white society through schools was encouraged by their families and the Chinese community since educational achievement was always ingrained at an early age.

Undeniably, the Chinese are gaining an ability to share and follow the values, goals, and expected behaviours of the dominant Anglo society. Their test results, achievement and interest preferences, and social values on most measurements of acculturation are more typically North American than Chinese. The works of Fong (1973), Yee (1973), and Chen and Yang (1986) suggest there is a definite trend for the Chinese toward being middle-class North American.

In essence, North American society has designed a blueprint for assimilation, an 'ideal' that defines and describes how to become North American. Asians, the Chinese, and especially the Japanese, have become for the white North American a symbol of a minority group whose assimilation into Anglo society has been complete (Ogawa 1971). Compared to the Blacks and Hispanics, who have been negatively stereotyped and are less successful at conforming to the blueprint of assimilation, the Asians have been able to fulfil the prophecy of 'ideal' assimilation. To contemporary white society, the Chinese have come to be thoroughly "Americanized," well-educated and model citizens (Ogawa 1971). The men are thought to be intelligent, industrious, and reserved; and the women, graceful, lovely, delicate, and servile. Wong (1989) claims that, like the Japanese, the Chinese are becoming increasingly similar to their white neighbours in almost all things except physical appearance. This is echoed by statements made by interview subjects on how they feel they have integrated into

North American society.

I don't see myself very different from white people. The only thing different about me is my skin colour. (IV)

Chinese people have achieved a lot since the first settlers [arrived] here. I think Chinese people enjoy a lot of the same things as whites and anyone else....for the ones who have been here for a while, there's not much of a difference from whites. (Ia)

Research, either supporting or disproving the "Asian as model minority" thesis, have focused on such socioeconomic indicators as education, occupation, income, returns for human capital, proportion in professional occupations, etc. (Wong 1989). The prevalence of Chinese intermarriage may be another possible social indicator by which one may assess the relative status of a minority group.

From an assimilationist perspective, intermarriage is a positive development (Lee and Yamanaka 1990) which is an important indicator of the assimilation of Asians into North American society (Shinagawa and Pang 1988). Continued increases in interracial marriage and a more positive attitude toward them (despite the fact that prejudices, stereotyping, misconceptions, and racial discrimination are still abundant) reveal the extent to which Asians have assimilated. Intermarriage is a sign of the growing acceptance of a minority group by the majority group which is seen as an inevitable by-product of structural assimilation. The Chinese occupy a "middleman" position between other minorities such as the Blacks and Hispanics, and the white population. The level

of intermarriage among Asians in North America is substantially higher than that for Blacks and Hispanics, which suggest that if present levels persist, prospects for the eventual social assimilation of Asians in North American society are favourable (Lee and Yamanaka 1990). Intermarriage between Asians and Caucasians has been interpreted as a general white acceptance of people of Asian ancestry and that high rates of intermarriage means that race is no longer a boundary to the full acceptance of Asians.² The women in this study generally agreed that the gap between Chinese and Caucasians appear to be lessening. But whether the social boundaries between the Chinese and white population will continue to crumble, only time will tell (Wong 1989:104).

One of the major tenets of the assimilation model is that each successive generation in North America is more likely to intermarry than the previous generation. Interethnic and interracial marriages tend to increase with the amount of time a population has resided in the United States (Sung 1990). In their study, Shinagawa and Pang (1988) found that better educated Asian Americans intermarry more often, as do those who hold better jobs, of higher socioeconomic status, and the native-born. They also claim that those who intermarry are younger individuals while Sung (1990) found those who marry

²This increasing prevalence in intermarriage may also suggest that racial appearance, at least, for the Chinese, does not seem to be a sufficient barrier to intermarriage. But according to Wong (1989) such a conclusion is premature.

out do so at a later age. Also in her study, Sung (1990) found that more Chinese females than males are taking mates outside the ethnic fold. Asian American women intermarry more often than Asian American men and both intermarry primarily with the white population.³ Unlike other ethnic minorities, the Asian female has been accepted in the Anglo marital pattern (Shinagawa and Pang 1988). This implies that Chinese women are more widely accepted as marital partners than Chinese men. One reason put forth to explain this phenomenon is that Chinese women are viewed as prizes or objects to be displayed and are non-threatening to the white male identity (Ogawa 1971, Shinagawa and Pang 1988).

But there is a limit to the amount of assimilation that can be realized and the process produces costs as well as benefits (Kuo 1982). The newer generations of Chinese men and women are coming to consider themselves less and less Chinese (Chen and Yang 1986). The phenomenon of the "banana syndrome" (white inside, yellow outside) as exhibited and admitted to by over half of the interview subjects and its "Americanization" (Kitano and Sue 1973:6) has affected the sex roles and the dating practices of the Chinese.

It's not a nice thing to admit to ...but I see myself as a "banana," a closet "banana" really. I would be too ashamed to own up to it publicly but I've strayed too far from being able to consider myself "Chinese" through and through. I'm white, except for my skin colour, I'm white. (II)

³Literature on Asians and intermarriage in Canada not available.

The assimilation of non-white members into white North American society is measured by the extent to which dominant ideologies are internalized (Kuo 1982). Dating attitudes are said to be a product of the socialization process and have their roots in cultural institutions and ideologies (Whyte 1990:67). The internalization of dominant ideologies has affected Chinese women's perception of Chinese males and has led them to reject Chinese men as dating partners based on their belief in stereotypes surrounding Chinese males.

The dating attitude of young Chinese males and females in North America, influenced by their differential treatment by white North American society, is both a consequence and result of, continuous exposure to, and partial Chinese acceptance of racial stereotyping (Weiss 1970). Although in contemporary society the Chinese male is popularly characterized as clever, studious, hard-working, honest, a pillar of family virtue, and respectfully obedient to his elders (traits acceptable in business and family success), he is still stereotyped as introverted, shy, withdrawing, and tongue-tied (traits unacceptable to current ideas of romanticism) (Sung 1967). The Chinese female image, on the other hand, has been better accepted by the North American public with particular emphasis on Chinese feminine beauty and charm (Weiss 1970). North American stereotypes of "Chinese"--although based upon much fictitious characterization--accept the Chinese female as a satisfactory sexual and dating companion but reject the

Chinese male in a similar category (Weiss 1970:274).

Similarly, for Chinese females, when a "Chinese date" turns out to be a disappointment, the Chinese male stereotype images are further reinforced. To illustrate, Weiss found that:

Chinese American females have internalized the dominant dating values of the Caucasian teenager, have better adjusted to American social custom, and are better accepted by the community as dating partners and potential mates than the young Chinese American male. Consequently Chinese American girls expect to be treated like their Caucasian contemporaries. Many Chinese males cannot meet these expectations as a result, the females seek romance and companionship in Caucasian arms. (Weiss 1970:274)

Acculturation causes many Chinese females in North America to derogate their male counterparts as inhibited, passive, and lacking in sexual attractiveness (which was also reinforced by the results of this study). But in his study, Weiss (1970) found that even the foreign-born Chinese adolescent women--who do not usually date interracial--would willingly support a demeaning courtship image of Chinese-American males. In addition, it was also uncovered that Chinese females who regularly date Caucasian males can be quite vehement in their denunciation and disapproval of Chinese males as dating partners (Weiss 1970). Afterall, current dating ideology makes it fashionable for all young people (not just young Chinese women) to belittle and demean "traditional" role-type behaviour.

The women in this study expressed their generalizations

of Chinese men which included descriptions such as "traditional," "awkward," "socially inept," "repressed," and "unappealing." These same women generalized Caucasian men as "strong," "liberal-minded," "with-it," "in-tune," "fun-loving," and "spontaneous." These descriptions for Caucasian men include adjectives rarely associated with Chinese males.

In order to elicit more definitive information about attitudes towards Caucasian and Chinese dating partners, the interview subjects were asked to specifically describe their reasons for dating Chinese and Caucasian males. Those who had dated a Chinese man indicated "parental coercion," "race consciousness," "Chinese and Caucasian community pressures," "the sharing of a common heritage with other Chinese," "respect for tradition," and "the many possible problems associated with interracial marital unions." Responses for dating a Caucasian man were of an entirely different nature: "more fun on dates," "more considerate," "sexy" or "good-looking," "easy-going personality," "we had a lot in common," "great sense of humour," and "we hit it off immediately." These differing reasons for Chinese and for Caucasian dates suggest that the women in this study prefer the romance, adventure, and easy familiarity associated with Caucasian life, and by accepting these "wants" and "needs" have accepted many of the customs of North American life as dictated by the principles of assimilation.

The Chinese in North American cannot help but be

influenced by the nature of Caucasian stereotypes of Asians. One should not be left with the impression that most Chinese males in North America are either inept or inadequate. It should be recognized that Chinese females, raised in a predominately Caucasian society and subject to the propagandizing influences of North American mass media, either consciously or subconsciously accept many North American racial stereotypes and furthermore act upon the assumption that they have some validity. So that when a Chinese date turns out to be a disappointment, the Chinese male stereotype images are further reinforced. This also sheds light on how some of the women interviewed for this study saw themselves as unique, as the 'exception' to the popular stereotype image of Chinese females. These women accept this racial stereotyping yet they see themselves as more "Caucasian" than "Chinese."

It should be noted that the subjects in this study represented a specific group of Chinese women. These women have dated white men, they have an average of 3.5 years of post-secondary education, and most are native-born Canadians (the ones who are foreign-born have lived in Canada for an average of 17 years). But there is a large portion of Chinese women not represented by this study. The women who are different are women who have never dated a white man, who date exclusively within the race, are more likely to be foreign-born and have not spent a great number of years in Canada. These women may have had less opportunity to assimilate into

North American lifestyle than the sample group in this study. In short, the women not represented by this study may have perceptions different from those uncovered here.

Conclusion

This study examined how women of Chinese descent perceive themselves and how they feel their white dating partners perceive them with respect to popular stereotypes of Chinese women. This goal was accomplished by combining quantitative and qualitative methods. A Q sort study and semi-structured, open-ended interviews were utilized to achieve results. Q methodology supplied the means to extract 'factors' which represented certain discourses of Chinese female stereotypes for 'self' and 'other' (dating partners). This study was a starting point by attending to the neglected area of racial stereotyping as it is experienced from the viewpoint of those being stereotyped which in past studies have focused mainly on educational attainment and scholastic achievement.

The dominant North American society perpetuates inaccurate stereotyped images and attitudes concerning the Chinese (and other people of colour) based on racial characteristics (Yee 1973). Literature on Chinese stereotypes traces the pattern of white male domination in North America which is characteristic of all racial stereotypes. Popular images of Chinese people have flip-flopped over the past century. Once viewed as sneaky, dishonest, uncivilized sub-humans, the current stereotypes based on the "Model Minority" image from the mid-sixties is viewed as a more positive one. Differences emerge in the treatment of the genders. The

stereotype of the Chinese male is characterized as hard-working, intelligent, family-oriented, model citizen, but the stereotype also characterizes Chinese men as wimps, sexually immature and incapable lovers. For Chinese women, there are two popular stereotypes: the "Dragon Lady"--evil, manipulative, and sexually experienced, and the "China Doll"--graceful, delicate, submissive servant devoting body and soul to serving man. The stereotypes of Chinese women are sexual to the extent that stereotypes of Chinese men are not. According to the available literature, Chinese women are looked upon as fitting the prescribed roles of the "Dragon Lady" or the "China Doll."

A social construction perspective provided a means to explore how Chinese women position themselves in their everyday lives in relation to the popular stereotypes of Chinese women (how Chinese women construct their identities within their own experiences and how stereotypes affect their experiences and choices). Racism plays a role in the social construction of racial stereotypes that Chinese women are forced to cope with. Chinese women in North America experience a different world than those who are not Chinese and female, but experience it in such a way that their reality can only be interpreted differently from the dominant group.

For this study, the methodology used was a combination of Q methodology and semi-structured, open-ended interviews. These two methods were chosen because it was believed that

they would prove to be mutually informative (Kitzinger 1987). Data from the Q sort study provided a way of extracting 'factors' or groups of subjects that rank-ordered Q sort statements similarly. The interviews provided a depth and content for the factor groups.

The results of the Q sort found that Factor Ia subjects did not perceive themselves to fit the popular "China Doll" stereotype of Chinese women and felt their dating partners also did not perceive them in this manner. The subjects representing the opposing view to Factor Ia (otherwise known as Factor Ib) had no opinion on whether they fit the "China Doll" stereotype but they had sorted in strong agreement on pro-stereotype ("China Doll") statements, they perceived themselves to fit the stereotype of Chinese people in general, they felt their dating partners perceived them to fit the "China Doll" stereotype and the general stereotype of Chinese people. The subjects representing Factor II did not perceive themselves to fit the popular "China Doll" stereotype but perceived themselves to fit the "Dragon Lady" stereotype and the general stereotype of Chinese people. They also felt their dating partners did not perceive them to fit the "China Doll" stereotype but felt their dating partners were disappointed the women did not fit that stereotype, and also they felt their dating partners perceived them to fit the general stereotype of Chinese people. The subjects representing Factor III conformed to the stereotypes that they

claimed they rejected--they exhibited characteristics of the "China Doll," the "Dragon Lady," and the stereotype of Chinese people in general, they felt their dating partners did not perceive them to fit the "China Doll" stereotype but felt their dating partners perceived them to fit the stereotype of Chinese people in general. The subjects representing Factor IV were the only subjects in this study to perceive themselves to fit the "China Doll" stereotype but they felt their dating partners did not perceive them to fit this same stereotype. It was also found that: over half the subjects perceived themselves to be the 'exceptions' to the popular "China Doll" stereotype of Chinese women; almost all the subjects felt there were certain sexual expectations as a result of racial stereotypes of Chinese women; and all the subjects lacked the attraction and desire to date Chinese men.

Three topics were discussed in order to explain these results: how interview subjects perceive popular stereotypes of Chinese women and the changes in these stereotypes, coping mechanisms utilized by Chinese women when confronted with popular stereotypes of them in a dating context, and an examination of assimilation and its affect on Chinese women, stereotypes, and dating.

In the literature review, different stereotypes were identified: the "Model Minority," the "Silent Oriental," the "Dragon Lady," and the "China Doll." All the women in this study agreed that these stereotypes still exist today--all

except for the "Dragon Lady." According to the women in this study, the "Dragon Lady" stereotype no longer exists or exists as something entirely different not exclusive to Chinese women. The characteristics the subjects attributed to the new "Dragon Lady" ranged from an "aggressive, assertive woman" to a "cold" and "calculating" woman. The descriptions do not contain any trace of a racial reference unlike the "Dragon Lady" in the literature review. Although all the subjects unanimously agreed that the "China Doll" stereotype exists, three-quarters of the subjects felt this stereotype is undergoing change. These women felt the "China Doll" stereotype is in transition to something more positive-- "assertive," "intelligent," and "independent," were some of the traits attributed to the new stereotype. These women felt the changes are a result of, and reflect the visibility of, Chinese women in society. While they felt that the stereotypes of Chinese women were being transformed, they felt the stereotypes of Chinese men (as intelligent, studious, hard-working, reserved, and socially inept) have stayed the same. All the women felt that they are not perceived in the same manner as Chinese men. They felt society views them and treats them differently from Chinese males and this is reflected in the changes they felt are occurring with the stereotype of Chinese women.

There are three coping strategies the women in this study utilized when confronted with stereotypes of them in a dating

context with a white male. They are: acceptance, negotiation, and rejection. The opposing view to Factor Ia (or Factor Ib) was the only factor to accept and conform to the popular "China Doll" stereotype of Chinese women. These women claimed they conform to this stereotype based not on race but gender i.e. they feel they conform to traditional gender expectations and not racial expectations. They also claimed that they felt pressure to conform from all sides--family, friends, men, and society in general. Three factors (II, III, and IV) cope with the traditional "China Doll" stereotype imposed on them through negotiation. These women rejected the "China Doll" stereotype for themselves but displayed characteristics or traits associated with that same stereotype. They modified their behaviours to suit the needs of the situation. By conforming to the expectations of the traditional "China Doll" stereotype these women sometimes feel frustrated for compromising who they are. Factor Ia was the only factor to reject the "China Doll" stereotype. These women in no way identified with this stereotype and did not exhibit any characteristics that may be associated with any part of that "China Doll" stereotype. They resist in various forms. In a dating situation, they try not to "look" or "act" like the "China Doll" stereotype, they act independent, assertive, and speak their minds. These women identify with feminist views and feel feminism plays a role in their rejection of stereotypes of Chinese women. These women agree that it is

probably more difficult to resist against the stereotypes than to conform to them but they are nevertheless, much happier for it.

One of the things the women in this study all had in common was their apparent lack of attraction for Chinese men. The women appear to have internalized some of the dominant North American ideologies through assimilation. This internalization of dominant ideologies include stereotypes of Chinese men and women which extend over to cultural institutions (such as dating). Dating attitudes of Chinese males and females in North America are both a consequence and result of, continuous exposure to, and partial Chinese acceptance of racial stereotypes (Weiss 1970). North American culture influences the dating choices of Chinese females. Chinese females judge Chinese males based on North American dating values and ideologies. Preference for white dating partners is internalized and may cause the Chinese female to derogate Chinese males. Over half the women in this study identified themselves as more North American "white" than "Chinese" and were not ashamed to admit it. To them, assimilation into North American society does not necessarily mean rejecting their Chinese heritage, but modifying it in order to survive in a society which stereotypes them. The women in this study felt this was a means of bridging two very different worlds.

This study demonstrates the need for more research--especially on Chinese women who are not represented by this study--on how Chinese women in Canada construct their identities and how that is affected by stereotyping. This study also illuminates the fact that generational changes in cultural influences must also be evaluated. Recent studies as to the cultural influence the Chinese values have had on the most recent generation of Chinese North Americans by Kuo (1982) and Sung (1990) reveal that the most recent generation has been largely acculturated into North American values. The women in this study only represent one group of Chinese women from this generation. The results of this study cannot be applied to all Chinese women but this study can provide an understanding of the meaning and social constructions that are applied to Chinese women through stereotypes. This study can also provide insight into how racial stereotypes are coped with in certain social contexts such as interracial dating. Although the results from this study are not conclusive, it provides a starting point.

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Appendix A.1

Q sort statements derived from popular stereotypes of Chinese women found in the literature review based on the interpretation of the subject of how her white dating partner perceives her.

Pro-stereotype statements (these statements would elicit a positive response if sorted according to the popular stereotypes of Chinese women).

- 1) He asked me out because he was attracted to Chinese women. He told me he found Chinese women exotic and sensual.
- 2) He found it difficult to get to know me. He felt I didn't reveal enough information about myself.
- 3) He treated me like a servant. He assumed I didn't mind cooking and cleaning up after him.
- 4) He expected me to "put out." He thought he could have his way with me.
- 5) He wasn't sensitive to my needs. He made all the decisions on what we did without consulting me. He assumed I had no preference and did not bother to ask for my input.
- 6) I usually didn't have much to say around him, he took this as being quiet and shy. He acted surprised whenever I spoke up.
- 7) He didn't take me seriously. He assumed I didn't know much about life and what's going on in the world.
- 8) He would offer opinions on what I should or shouldn't do. I felt he wanted to control what I did, where I did it, with whom, etc.
- 9) He constantly told me how attractive and desirable I was.
- 10) He thought I would be good at math and sciences.
- 11) He thought I was very hard-working because I had put a lot of time and effort into what I did.
- 12) At times, he would accuse me of trying to use my "feminine charm" to get my way.
- 13) He assumed I was sexually experienced.
- 14) He was very protective of me, he thought I needed to be taken care of.
- 15) He never thought I would consider seeing anyone else but him.
- 16) He assumed I would be family oriented and participate in family related things.

Anti-stereotype statements (these statements would elicit a negative response if sorted according to the popular stereotypes of Chinese women).

- 17) It didn't matter to him that I'm Chinese.
- 18) He thought we were very compatible. He didn't have any problems understanding me.
- 19) He treated me like an equal. We often discussed many things and made decisions together.
- 20) He didn't think I fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women (quiet, passive, submissive).
- 21) He knew I had my quiet days and my talkative days, he accepted my many moods. He knew I wasn't perfect.
- 22) He valued my opinions. He respected me and allowed me to say what's on my mind.
- 23) He thought I was a free-spirit, a carefree person who was also capable of many responsibilities.
- 24) He never thought I was the type that constantly needed to be told how desirable I was. He assumed I already knew how he felt.
- 25) He never pressured me about sex.
- 26) He was never surprised at anything I did. He would expect just about anything from me.
- 27) He assumed I was sexually inexperienced and innocent.
- 28) He never felt threatened by me. He knew I would never hurt him intentionally.
- 29) He asked me out because of my personality, not because I'm Chinese.
- 30) He told me I was easy to "read." He thought I wasn't very good at hiding my feelings.
- 31) He treated me like a princess. He was very sensitive to my needs and would do everything possible to keep me happy.
- 32) He was afraid to touch me because he thought I would reject him.
- 33) He always let me make the final decision. If we disagreed, he would give in without discussion.
- 34) He thought I was very bubbly and talkative. He was worried when I was quiet.
- 35) He thought I was very knowledgeable and worldly because of my many different interests.
- 36) He thought I was head-strong and independent and did not need anyone to look after me.
- 37) He hardly ever complimented me on my looks. I felt insecure because of this.
- 38) He knew I was very open and honest with him, whether he liked it or not.
- 39) He often thought I was bitchy and moody.
- 40) He was disappointed that I didn't fit into the popular stereotype of Chinese women (quiet, submissive, etc).
- 41) He could never picture me as a "housewife" type, cooking or cleaning up after him.
- 42) He thought I was aggressive and demanding because I went after things instead of waiting for them to happen.

Appendix A.2

Q sort statements derived from popular stereotypes of Chinese women found in the literature review based on how the subject perceives herself in her last dating situation with a white male.

Pro-stereotype statements (these statements would elicit a positive response if sorted according to the popular stereotypes of Chinese women).

- 43) I found it hard to say what's on my mind.
- 44) He usually made the first move and in order to keep him satisfied I would let him get as far as he wanted.
- 45) I found it easier to hide my feelings. I was secretive, I didn't want him to know too much about me.
- 46) I was supportive of the choices he made and the things he did even if I didn't understand or agree with him.
- 47) I would wait at home for him to call before making any plans.
- 48) I stroked his ego a lot. I would pamper and fuss over him, I was sensitive to his needs and would do things that I thought he wanted me to do.
- 49) I let him make the final decisions on what we do, I usually gave in to him anyways.
- 50) I felt tongue-tied and nervous around him and in social situations. I didn't like all that attention focused on me.
- 51) I would "tease" him in a seductive way, I enjoyed seeing him squirm. This made me feel sexy and in control.
- 52) I used my "feminine charm" to get my way. I didn't see anything wrong with that since it was one of the few ways I could persuade him.
- 53) I enjoyed the special attention I received as an Chinese woman. This set me apart from other women.
- 54) He made me feel safe and protected. I felt lost if I wasn't dating someone.
- 55) I felt it was right to let him pay for everything on our dates.
- 56) I enjoyed cooking for him, I liked to "play house" and pretend to be his wife (although I didn't tell him that).
- 57) I couldn't believe I was actually seeing him. I never thought I would be so lucky.
- 58) I picked up after him a lot. It felt good to help him out.
- 59) I was more intelligent than he was but I tried to hide it.

Anti-stereotype statements (these statements would elicit a negative response if sorted according to the popular stereotypes of Chinese women).

- 60) I usually didn't have any problem discussing what was on my mind.
- 61) We had a mutual understanding when it came to the physical aspect of our relationship.
- 62) I always tried to be as honest and tactful as the situation permitted.
- 63) There was a lot of "give and take." We took turns doing things for each other.
- 64) We made all decisions together. We did everything this way.
- 65) I took his feelings into consideration but I always remained true to myself.
- 66) I was his equal, he listened to my point of view. In arguments and discussions I would never take his side unless I agreed with it.
- 67) I got enjoyment out of social situations, but I was also content to sit back and listen to others.
- 68) I was selective about what I revealed to him. I didn't think he needed to know absolutely everything about me.
- 69) I was capable of handling anything that came my way but it was nice to rely on him sometimes to take care of things for me.
- 70) Being Chinese didn't set me apart from others. I'm just a person like everyone else.
- 71) We took turns paying for our outings. I felt it was only fair.
- 72) I had to have my say in decisions and discussions. I'm not one to keep my mouth shut.
- 73) I was not his sex toy. I made it clear to him that I did not want to be touched, unless I said so.
- 74) I was direct and honest, no matter what the consequences.
- 75) If someone else better came along, I would have dropped him. I wasn't that "devoted" to him.
- 76) I wouldn't nurture or "mother" him. I didn't have a need to.
- 77) When my mind was made up, he couldn't change it. I was stubborn that way.
- 78) I did whatever I wanted. I always put myself first before anyone or anything else.
- 79) I actually enjoyed arguing and fighting with him. I think at times I was being difficult on purpose.
- 80) I thrive in social situations. I've been described as talkative and out-going.
- 81) I was able to take care of myself. I didn't need him to protect me from anything.
- 82) I was never sure if he found me desirable.
- 83) I let him know that I was smarter than him.
- 84) I didn't fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women (quiet, submissive, passive, etc.).

Appendix B

Consent form (Q sort)

This study is conducted by a graduate student from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Windsor, for the purposes of fulfilling her thesis requirement. This study is designed to examine stereotypes of Chinese women. The focus of the project is to explore how Chinese women feel about these stereotypes in a dating context with white men.

The Q sort will be explained by the researcher. All information gathered from this session will be kept strictly confidential and will only be used for the purposes of this study. You will not be identified in any way.

Participation in this project is voluntary. You have the right to end the session at any time. You are under no obligation to complete it.

If you have any questions regarding this study, please contact Terry Chow at (519) 253-4232, ext. 2191 or (519) 948-6449, or contact the Department of Sociology and Anthropology Ethics Committee at (519) 253-4232, ext. 2190.

I, _____, understand the information given above and voluntarily consent to participate in this study. I understand that I can terminate the session at any time at my discretion.

(signature)

(date)

Age: _____

Education: _____

Place of Birth: _____

-If not in Canada, how long have you lived here? _____

Place of Residence: _____

Appendix C

Eleven point distribution scale

(From STRONGLY DISAGREE to STRONGLY AGREE)

-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

Appendix D

Consent Form (Interview)

This study is conducted by a graduate student from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Windsor, for the purposes of fulfilling her thesis requirement. This study is designed to examine stereotypes of Chinese women. The focus of the project is to explore how Chinese women feel about these stereotypes in a dating context with white men.

All interviews will be kept strictly confidential. All information will only be used for the purposes of this study. The interview will be tape recorded to aid the researcher. You will not be identified.

Participation in this project is voluntary. You have the right to refuse to answer any question(s). The interview may be terminated at any time at your discretion.

If you have any questions regarding this study, please contact Terry Chow at (519) 253-4232, ext. 2191 or (519) 948-6449 or contact the Department of Sociology and Anthropology Ethics Committee at (519) 253-4232, ext. 2190.

I, _____, understand the information given above and voluntarily consent to participate in this study. I understand that I can terminate the interview at any time and/or refuse to answer any question(s) at my discretion.

(signature)

(date)

Appendix E

Interview schedule

- 1) What is the popular perception of Chinese people?
-Has it changed over the years?
- 2) Is there a popular stereotype of Chinese men?
-What is it?
-Has it changed over the years?
- 3) Is there a popular stereotype of Chinese women?
-What is it?
-Has it changed over the years?
- 4) How do you perceive yourself in terms of these stereotypes?
-Where do you fit in?
-Do you identify with any of them?
-Are the stereotypes accurate?
- 5) Are you currently seeing anyone?
-Is he white? (If he is white, let's talk about the last white man you dated. If your current dating partner is not white, let's talk about your most recent dating experience with a white man.)
- 6) Do you think he was aware of the stereotypes of Chinese women and of Chinese people in general?

-How did these stereotypes relate to you?

-Did this affect your relationship? If yes, how?

-Do you think he had stereotypical expectations of you as a Chinese woman? What were they (if any) and how did this make you feel? (To what degree, did your being Chinese interest him.)

-What do you think were his initial expectation(s)? (of you and of the relationship)

-Do you feel you were treated differently because of your race?

-Who was dominant? (Describe the power relationship.)

-What was the result of this "relationship"? How or why did the relationship end?

-Was race ever an issue? How was that dealt with?

-What were the expectations dealing with the physical part of the relationship (if any)?

- 7) How do you think Asian men reacted to seeing you with a white man?

-How do your family and friends react?

- 8) Have you ever dated a Chinese (or any Asian) man? What were his expectations of you, if any?

-What were your expectations of him, if any?

-How do you feel about Chinese men in general?

- 9) Have you ever dated a black man (or other men of colour)?

- 10) Compare your different dating experiences.

-Do you feel any different when you're with a white man than with someone of colour?

-Do you think people treat you differently when they see you with a white man? How?

-Do you have a preference for white men?

- 11) How do you feel when you see other interracial couples?

- 12) How do you identify yourself? (As Chinese, as Canadian, Chinese Canadian, etc.)

Appendix F

Q sort participant stats

SUBJECT #	AGE	EDUCATION ¹	PLACE OF BIRTH ²	CURRENT RESIDENCE
01	24	PS(1)	Canada	Windsor
02	20	PS(2)	Canada	Windsor
03	23	PS(3)	Canada	Toronto
04	19	HS	Canada	Toronto
05	26	PS(2)	Canada	Toronto
* 06	21	PS(2)	Canada	Windsor
07	25	PS(4)	Hong Kong[16]	Toronto
* 08	26	PS(6)	Canada	Toronto
09	28	PS(3)	Canada	Windsor
* 10	24	PS(3)	Canada	Windsor
* 11	21	PS(1)	Canada	Toronto
12	28	PS(5)	China[21]	Toronto
* 13	20	PS(3)	Canada	Toronto
* 14	21	PS(3)	Canada	Windsor
* 15	22	PS(1)	Hong Kong[10]	Toronto
16	19	PS(2)	China[12]	Toronto
17	22	PS(3)	Canada	Toronto
18	27	PS(4)	Canada	Toronto
19	23	PS(4)	Canada	Windsor
20	21	PS(3)	Hong Kong[13]	Toronto
* 21	24	PS(3)	Hong Kong[15]	Windsor
22	22	PS(3)	Canada	Toronto
23	29	PS(7)	Hong Kong[21]	Toronto
24	24	PS(4)	Canada	Toronto
* 25	23	PS(4)	Hong Kong[17]	Toronto
26	26	PS(4)	Canada	Toronto
* 27	22	PS(4)	Canada	Windsor
* 28	29	PS(3)	Canada	Toronto
* 29	24	PS(4)	Canada	Toronto
* 30	26	PS(6)	Canada	Toronto
* 31	24	PS(4)	Canada	Windsor
* 32	25	PS(5)	Canada	Toronto
33	28	PS(5)	Canada	Toronto
34	23	PS(3)	Canada	Windsor
35	20	HS	Canada	Windsor
36	31	PS(4)	U.S.[26]	Toronto
37	34	PS(6)	Canada	Toronto
* 38	24	PS(3)	Canada	Windsor

* also participated with interviews

¹HS=HIGH SCHOOL PS=POST-SECONDARY (Numbers in parentheses represent years of post-secondary studies completed.)

²Numbers in brackets represent years living in Canada.

Appendix G

Raw data (sorts 1-19, items 1-42)

st. #	Sort																		
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
01	-4	-1	-4	4	-4	-1	-4	-5	-1	3	-5	-4	-4	-4	-3	3	-4	-3	-5
02	-3	2	-4	-3	0	-3	-4	0	3	-3	-5	-5	-5	-3	-2	2	1	-3	-5
03	-3	-2	-3	4	-5	5	-5	-4	-4	5	-5	-4	-4	-4	-5	2	-3	-5	2
04	-3	-1	-5	5	1	2	-3	1	-4	4	-5	-4	-3	-5	-2	3	0	-4	4
05	-4	-1	-5	3	5	4	-4	3	-3	4	-5	-5	-4	-5	-3	3	-2	-4	-5
06	-5	0	-4	4	-3	4	-4	-5	-3	3	-5	-4	-4	-4	-3	3	-4	-3	-5
07	-4	1	-5	5	-3	5	-5	-4	-4	4	-5	-5	-5	-5	-4	4	-3	-5	-3
08	1	0	2	2	-2	5	0	-2	-3	5	-2	-1	0	-1	0	3	-1	2	-5
09	-2	2	-2	3	-3	-5	0	-5	3	2	1	0	-1	0	2	2	-4	2	-5
10	-4	2	-5	4	-5	3	-3	-4	2	3	-5	-3	-3	-5	-5	3	-3	-4	5
11	-3	1	-4	3	5	5	-2	4	3	3	-5	-5	-5	-5	-5	3	4	-4	-5
12	-4	-1	-2	3	-5	1	-3	-4	-3	0	-5	-5	-5	-3	-4	2	-3	-3	5
13	-5	-3	0	5	2	0	-4	4	-3	4	-5	-4	-3	-5	-4	3	3	-3	-5
14	-4	-4	-3	3	-4	2	-3	-4	-4	2	-5	-5	-5	-5	-5	4	-3	-3	-5
15	-3	1	-4	4	-3	3	-3	-4	2	3	-5	-4	-4	-4	-4	3	-3	-4	1
16	2	0	-1	2	2	0	2	0	-3	1	1	0	1	2	0	1	-1	2	5
17	-2	2	2	1	4	0	2	5	-4	-1	0	-1	-3	1	1	-4	4	2	2
18	1	1	-1	0	1	-1	3	1	4	1	2	3	2	1	0	-1	0	3	5
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20	3	2	3	-4	5	-4	4	5	5	-5	5	5	4	5	2	-4	4	4	3
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22	4	0	5	-4	2	-5	4	3	-2	-4	5	3	3	5	4	-3	4	5	5
23	4	3	2	1	5	0	3	5	2	3	5	4	3	5	4	-2	4	5	4
24	-3	4	-5	5	4	4	-3	3	3	4	-4	-3	-4	-5	-2	1	2	-4	1
25	2	2	4	-5	1	-4	3	0	4	-5	5	4	4	5	3	-5	-1	4	-4
26	-2	0	1	2	-1	0	-2	-3	1	3	0	-1	-1	-1	-2	-2	-2	1	-5
27	-4	0	-5	5	-4	3	-3	-5	-4	4	-5	-5	-5	-4	-5	-1	-4	-3	-3
28	4	-1	3	-5	-1	-5	5	-2	-3	-4	5	4	4	5	5	-2	-1	4	5
29	3	4	4	-5	4	-3	3	5	-4	-4	5	5	5	5	5	-3	4	4	4
30	-2	2	0	3	3	-2	2	3	-4	2	0	1	2	-1	1	-3	2	1	-3
31	4	4	3	-4	0	-5	4	-2	-4	-4	5	5	5	4	5	-1	-1	4	-3
32	2	3	-1	-4	-5	-2	2	-5	3	-1	0	1	0	0	-2	-4	-4	2	-5
33	1	1	0	-3	-4	-5	-1	-5	-3	-4	0	0	1	1	2	-4	-4	2	-5
34	4	1	4	-3	1	-2	4	2	-4	-1	5	5	5	4	5	-3	1	3	3
35	3	2	5	-3	1	-2	5	3	-2	-3	5	4	4	4	5	-2	2	3	4
36	4	3	0	-2	4	-3	4	4	0	-2	5	5	4	5	4	-2	-1	5	5
37	-3	-2	0	4	-2	4	-3	-3	-2	3	-5	-3	-3	-4	-5	-1	-2	-4	-4
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39	3	-2	2	4	-1	3	3	-3	3	4	3	2	1	4	4	-1	-2	3	-4
40	-4	-3	-3	2	-5	0	-5	-5	4	4	-5	-5	-5	-4	-5	0	-4	-3	-5
41	3	1	-2	-2	-1	-3	4	-1	3	-4	5	5	5	2	1	-3	0	4	-2
42	4	3	2	-5	-3	-1	4	-3	1	-4	5	4	5	4	5	-4	-2	3	-4

Raw data (sorts 20-38, items 1-42)

st. #	Sort																		
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38
01	-4	-2	-4	-4	0	-3	2	-5	-5	2	2	0	1	-4	-2	0	-5	4	3
02	3	3	2	0	2	1	3	1	2	4	3	3	5	-5	1	2	-3	4	3
03	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-4	-3	-4	0	-5	-5	-5	-3	-5	-5	-1	-4	5	5
04	-1	0	-2	0	-5	5	-3	1	-2	-5	-5	-5	-5	-4	4	-1	-5	4	3
05	-2	-2	-3	3	-3	3	-4	4	-3	-4	-2	-3	-3	-5	2	2	-5	3	5
06	-2	-1	-2	-3	-4	-3	-3	-4	-3	-5	-5	-3	-2	-4	-3	2	-4	4	4
07	1	2	1	-1	-4	-1	-3	-2	1	-4	-3	-4	-5	-5	-1	1	-4	5	3
08	-1	-1	-2	1	-3	-3	-3	0	-1	-5	-3	-4	-5	-1	-3	2	1	3	4
09	3	3	5	-4	1	-4	-4	-5	4	-3	-4	-3	-4	0	-4	1	1	4	5
10	4	3	3	-2	4	-2	3	-3	3	3	2	4	3	-4	-2	1	-2	3	5
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12	0	1	-1	-2	2	1	2	-3	-1	4	2	5	4	-4	-1	1	-3	3	3
13	-3	-2	-3	2	4	4	-2	3	-3	-3	-3	-3	-1	-4	4	3	-5	4	4
14	-2	-3	-3	-4	-3	-3	-5	-5	-3	-5	-4	-3	-5	-5	-3	1	-5	5	4
15	2	2	1	-3	-3	-3	-4	-4	2	-3	-1	-3	-3	-5	-3	2	-5	5	3
16	1	1	2	0	2	-3	3	-1	0	0	1	1	1	2	-3	-1	1	-2	1
17	4	3	3	3	0	5	-2	4	3	-2	-2	-3	-3	1	5	3	2	0	4
18	2	2	1	1	-1	4	-3	2	1	-4	-3	-5	-4	3	3	0	1	3	4
19	-1	-1	-3	4	4	3	3	5	-3	5	5	4	4	4	2	0	3	-4	-3
20	4	2	4	5	4	3	4	5	5	5	5	3	3	5	3	1	4	-4	-5
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22	1	0	0	1	4	4	4	2	0	5	4	4	2	5	4	4	4	-3	-3
23	2	3	1	3	3	2	-3	4	2	0	-1	-2	-1	5	3	0	4	-2	-3
24	4	4	3	2	-1	2	2	3	4	3	2	3	1	-5	2	1	-4	4	4
25	3	2	2	-1	4	3	3	0	3	5	3	5	2	3	2	0	3	-5	-5
26	-1	-1	-3	-1	-1	-5	-1	-2	-2	2	1	0	3	0	-5	0	1	2	3
27	1	1	0	-4	-4	-4	-4	-5	1	-3	-4	-4	-4	-5	-3	3	-5	4	5
28	0	1	0	-1	-3	-3	-4	-2	1	-5	-4	-5	-4	5	-4	2	4	-5	-4
29	4	4	5	4	0	3	-2	5	5	-3	-2	-3	-2	5	4	0	3	-4	-5
30	0	1	-2	2	-5	4	-3	3	-1	-5	-5	-5	-5	1	3	4	3	-3	-3
31	4	4	3	-1	-2	-4	-3	-2	4	-4	-5	-4	-3	5	-5	2	5	-5	-4
32	3	4	2	-2	0	-3	1	-3	3	3	3	2	2	3	-2	1	-3	-3	-2
33	1	0	1	-4	-3	-1	-4	5	0	-3	-2	-4	-4	2	-1	0	1	-4	-4
34	-1	0	-2	1	-2	3	-3	2	-2	-4	-4	-4	-2	4	3	1	5	-3	-3
35	2	1	2	0	2	5	3	1	3	0	0	-1	-1	3	5	-1	5	-3	-3
36	2	2	2	1	3	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	4	1	-1	5	-2	-2
37	-4	-3	-5	-3	-3	-1	-4	-4	-4	-3	-2	-2	-4	-3	-1	0	-4	4	3
38	1	1	2	4	4	2	5	5	0	5	5	4	5	5	2	2	3	-4	-5
39	-3	-3	-4	0	2	-4	3	-1	-4	3	4	2	2	4	-4	0	3	4	2
40	-4	-2	-4	-3	4	-4	2	-4	-5	3	4	3	3	-3	-3	-2	-5	-1	0
41	0	1	0	-1	3	-3	2	-2	-1	3	4	1	2	3	-4	-1	5	-3	-4
42	2	3	3	-2	1	-1	2	-2	1	0	0	2	0	4	-2	0	4	-4	-3

Raw data (sorts 1-19, items 43-84)

st. #	Sort																		
	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
43	-2	3	-1	1	-5	2	-3	-3	4	3	-2	-2	-2	-1	-2	1	2	3	-1
44	-5	4	-4	5	-5	4	-5	-5	-5	4	-5	-5	-5	-4	-5	3	3	-4	-4
45	-4	5	-4	4	3	5	-5	2	3	4	-5	-4	-3	-3	-4	3	4	1	-2
46	-2	4	-1	4	5	4	-3	3	-3	5	-2	-3	-2	-4	-5	3	5	-4	-4
47	-4	-2	-4	5	-5	4	-5	-5	-5	2	-5	-5	-5	-3	-2	3	4	2	-3
48	-3	4	-5	5	5	4	-4	5	-4	5	-5	-4	-4	-3	-3	4	0	-3	-3
49	-5	0	-5	4	-5	3	-5	-4	-4	2	-5	-5	-5	-3	-5	1	3	-4	-3
50	-4	5	-4	0	-5	3	-5	-5	-4	4	-5	-4	-4	-3	-4	4	1	4	-3
51	-4	5	-4	5	-5	4	-5	-4	3	5	-5	-5	-5	-4	-4	5	2	3	-4
52	-3	-1	-3	4	3	4	-4	3	1	5	-5	-3	-3	-4	-3	5	4	2	-3
53	-4	-2	-5	3	-5	3	-5	-4	-1	3	-5	-5	-4	-4	-5	-1	4	-3	-3
54	-3	-4	-4	4	-5	3	-4	-3	4	4	-5	-5	-5	-3	-2	2	2	-3	-2
55	-4	-5	-5	3	-5	3	-4	-5	-4	3	-5	-4	-4	-4	-3	4	4	4	-3
56	-4	-4	-5	4	-3	4	-4	-2	2	5	-5	-5	-4	-4	-4	3	3	-4	3
57	-2	-1	2	4	-5	4	-2	-5	2	4	0	1	0	1	0	4	2	1	0
58	-2	-3	-4	5	3	5	-3	4	-4	4	-5	-4	-5	-4	-4	4	4	-3	-4
59	-3	-5	-4	5	-5	4	-4	-4	-3	5	-5	-4	-4	-3	-5	5	4	-4	-3
60	3	-5	3	-4	-3	-3	4	-4	2	-2	2	0	1	3	3	-5	-1	-3	2
61	1	-2	1	-5	5	-5	2	4	-2	-4	0	-1	-1	-1	0	-4	-3	-4	0
62	3	-4	4	-3	5	-3	4	4	-3	-2	5	3	-1	3	2	-4	-1	-4	1
63	3	-4	4	-5	5	-4	4	5	3	-3	5	4	4	5	4	-3	-3	3	1
64	2	-3	5	-2	-3	-3	3	-3	-1	-1	5	5	5	5	5	-3	-2	3	4
65	2	-3	3	-4	5	-3	3	5	4	-3	2	1	2	1	2	-4	-2	3	3
66	4	2	4	-4	5	-5	5	5	4	-4	5	5	4	4	3	-3	-2	3	5
67	2	-2	1	-5	5	-4	3	5	4	4	-1	-2	-1	-2	-2	5	0	3	-4
68	2	-2	3	5	5	4	3	3	4	3	2	2	1	1	1	3	3	-3	2
69	1	1	3	-2	3	-2	2	3	3	-3	2	2	2	2	1	-5	-1	1	1
70	4	-3	4	-2	-2	-3	5	-3	-2	-3	5	3	2	4	4	-4	1	2	5
71	0	4	-4	-4	5	-3	1	5	4	5	-5	-5	-3	-3	-3	3	1	-1	5
72	4	3	5	-5	5	-3	5	3	3	-4	5	4	5	5	5	-4	-2	2	2
73	3	-3	5	-5	5	-3	4	5	0	-4	5	5	4	5	5	-4	4	3	3
74	3	3	4	-5	-3	-3	4	-4	1	-4	5	4	4	5	4	-4	2	-4	4
75	-2	4	-4	5	-5	5	-3	-5	4	4	-5	-5	-4	-3	-4	5	-2	4	-3
76	-4	5	-4	2	-2	5	0	-1	-1	3	-5	-4	-5	-4	-5	5	3	-2	-4
77	1	0	2	-1	-3	0	2	-1	3	3	1	0	0	1	-1	4	1	5	-1
78	1	5	2	3	-5	4	2	-5	2	2	1	1	0	-1	0	3	5	4	1
79	2	-5	1	1	5	4	3	3	3	3	0	0	-1	0	1	2	0	5	0
80	4	3	4	4	3	1	5	2	-3	-4	5	5	4	4	5	-5	2	-3	4
81	4	4	4	-4	-5	-2	5	-3	3	-3	3	4	5	2	1	-5	3	3	2
82	1	-4	3	-5	-5	-4	2	-4	-3	-2	5	4	2	4	3	-4	-2	-3	-4
83	0	-5	2	-3	-5	-3	1	-5	1	3	-1	-2	-2	-2	-1	2	4	0	2
84	2	4	4	0	-3	1	3	-4	2	-1	5	4	5	4	3	2	3	2	4

Raw data (sorts 20-38, items 43-84)

st. #	Sort																		
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38
43	2	4	2	-1	3	-3	2	-5	1	5	4	5	3	3	-4	0	-1	3	4
44	2	5	3	1	-4	-4	-3	-4	3	-5	-5	-3	-5	4	-4	1	-4	3	5
45	3	5	3	3	1	2	0	1	3	3	2	3	2	4	2	2	-2	5	3
46	1	3	2	1	-3	5	-2	5	3	-3	-4	-3	-3	3	5	-1	-4	4	4
47	0	-2	4	0	-4	-2	-3	-5	-1	-4	-5	-5	-5	-1	-4	1	-4	3	4
48	3	4	2	4	-3	5	-2	4	2	-5	-4	-5	-4	3	5	-1	-2	4	5
49	-1	-2	3	-2	-5	-3	-4	-4	-2	-4	-5	-5	-4	-1	-4	2	-4	5	4
50	4	5	4	1	-4	-1	-3	-5	5	-3	-5	-3	-5	5	-5	0	-3	5	2
51	5	4	3	0	4	-2	3	-4	3	5	5	3	4	4	-3	2	-4	4	3
52	0	-2	0	-4	2	1	3	3	-3	2	1	3	1	-1	2	-1	-3	4	4
53	-1	-2	-2	-5	-5	-2	-4	-4	-3	-3	-4	-2	-1	-2	-4	-2	-3	3	2
54	-4	-4	-4	3	-4	-5	-3	-5	-3	-3	-4	-4	-2	-4	-4	0	-3	5	4
55	-3	-4	-4	2	-4	-4	-3	-4	-2	-5	-3	-5	-5	-4	-4	0	-3	5	4
56	-4	-5	-3	2	2	-2	1	-2	-5	3	3	3	3	-4	-2	2	3	4	5
57	0	-1	0	3	2	-4	1	-3	0	3	3	1	1	-1	-4	-1	2	4	5
58	-2	-4	-2	1	-4	3	-3	2	-2	-5	-5	-4	-3	-3	3	-1	-4	3	4
59	-3	-5	-3	0	-3	-1	-2	-3	-4	-2	-3	-1	-4	-4	-2	2	-3	5	5
60	-1	-4	-2	3	1	-5	0	-2	-4	3	1	4	4	-4	-3	2	2	-3	-5
61	-2	-4	-3	-1	-3	5	-4	4	-5	-1	-2	-2	-3	-3	4	1	0	-5	-5
62	-3	-4	-2	4	-3	2	-4	3	-5	-3	-3	-3	-4	-4	3	2	0	-5	-1
63	-2	-4	-3	5	2	3	3	2	-4	4	2	5	2	-4	4	1	3	-3	-4
64	0	-4	-1	0	-1	-4	0	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	-2	-2	-3	1	4	-4	-2
65	0	-4	-1	-1	3	4	2	4	-3	5	4	5	3	-2	4	2	1	-5	-5
66	4	3	4	-4	4	5	3	5	2	5	3	5	3	3	5	1	3	-4	-5
67	0	-3	-3	-3	4	1	3	5	-4	5	4	4	3	-2	4	3	0	3	2
68	-2	-1	-3	-4	1	4	2	5	-2	4	2	4	4	-2	4	1	1	5	4
69	2	0	3	0	3	4	4	4	-1	5	4	4	1	1	3	2	1	-2	-1
70	-5	-5	4	-2	-3	-2	-4	-3	-5	-4	-4	-4	-3	-5	-3	-1	-1	-3	2
71	2	4	3	-3	2	4	3	4	4	5	3	4	4	4	4	3	-3	5	1
72	1	3	1	-1	1	4	0	3	1	5	2	5	5	2	3	0	4	-5	-3
73	-1	-4	-3	-2	0	3	-1	5	-4	0	-1	-1	1	-3	4	0	3	-5	-4
74	1	4	2	-3	1	-3	3	-3	5	2	2	1	2	3	-3	1	5	-5	-3
75	3	4	2	-2	1	-3	-2	-3	2	3	1	3	5	3	-4	0	-4	3	2
76	1	4	3	0	-1	0	-2	-2	3	-3	-2	-2	-4	3	-1	4	4	4	3
77	0	1	1	0	2	-1	3	-4	0	4	5	5	5	0	-2	0	-1	2	0
78	5	5	4	4	3	-1	2	-3	4	4	4	4	4	5	-3	1	1	-4	-5
79	-3	-5	-3	0	4	3	3	3	-3	5	5	1	3	-4	3	0	0	3	-1
80	2	4	2	-2	-3	2	-2	3	3	-4	-3	-4	-3	3	3	0	3	-5	-2
81	1	4	3	-5	4	-3	3	-3	4	3	3	1	3	4	-3	3	4	-5	-4
82	-5	-5	-4	2	-4	-5	-3	-5	-5	-4	-3	-3	-2	-5	-5	1	-2	-4	-3
83	-4	-5	-3	2	0	-4	-1	-3	-4	2	0	1	0	-4	-4	-1	2	-3	-3
84	1	4	2	1	2	1	1	-2	-3	4	2	3	2	3	-3	4	4	0	-1

sort	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10					
1	----						
2	0764	----					
3	8633	-0181	----				
4	-7494	-0612	-6829	----			
5	4093	0849	3317	-2811	----		
6	-6357	0882	-5884	8394	-2417	----	
7	9272	0342	8445	-7292	4068	-6979	----
8	3861	0754	3254	-2996	9608	-2491	3938

9	2960	1392	1980	-2458	1659	-1409	2491
1614	----						
10	-6949	-0420	-6580	7846	-2325	8012	-7389
-2339	-0633	----					
11	9116	0521	8758	-7090	3345	-7087	9286
3163	2003	-7872					
12	9182	1412	8832	-6813	3558	-6262	8892
3404	2347	-7303					
13	9143	1688	8673	-7025	3415	-6434	8790
3269	2445	-7266					
14	9160	0919	8877	-7144	3116	-6481	8710
2968	2171	-7480					
15	9000	0667	8661	-6873	3706	-6599	8651
3415	1720	-7367					
16	-6754	0374	-6701	6723	-2364	7112	-7130
-2297	-0690	8266					
17	0097	1383	0609	0946	1904	1570	0391
3008	0033	0499					
18	6066	2383	5296	-4652	1712	-4328	5959
2025	3207	-4126					
19	5258	0082	4495	-3434	2770	-3667	5694
3288	1428	-4281					
20	1196	8379	0237	-0802	1483	0015	0889
1572	2123	-1345					
21	0424	9571	-0542	0192	0280	0906	0166
0206	1481	-0376					
22	1412	7808	0460	-0942	0386	-0093	1099
0448	1287	-1857					
23	1198	0184	1594	-0511	3290	-0019	1445
3814	0119	-0488					
24	3872	1888	3692	-3205	2659	-2560	3627
3089	7397	-2071					
25	2458	2005	2504	-1747	8209	-1223	2723
8573	0814	-1873					

26	3440	1842	2881	-2841	2434	-1726	3105
2803	6783	-1927					
27	4003	1156	3458	-2674	9496	-2018	3991
9501	1987	-2138					
28	0833	8485	-0142	-0295	0525	0437	0754
0632	1159	-0905					
29	3284	1505	2946	-3171	2076	-1951	2792
2178	8192	-1690					
30	3383	1341	2900	-2928	1883	-1770	3012
2031	8046	-1710					
31	2772	1265	2650	-2930	1683	-1486	2336
1809	7740	-1424					
32	3104	1337	2655	-2731	1715	-1434	2472
1862	7919	-1381					
33	4826	7163	3676	-3052	1691	-2196	4129
1861	1889	-2925					
34	2842	1043	2811	-2037	8734	-1758	3072
9075	1196	-1825					
35	-0418	1422	0469	-1011	0789	-0775	0783
0949	-0120	-0590					
36	8056	1890	7737	-6142	2948	-5391	8214
2998	2511	-6217					
37	-8110	-0759	-7933	7689	-2695	7134	-7840
-2659	-1148	8111					
38	-8070	-1048	-7466	7857	-2892	6899	-7674
-2928	-2459	7552					

Note: Leading decimals have been omitted.

Correlation matrix (cont'd)

sort	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20					
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11	----						
12	9579	----					
13	9363	9726	----				
14	9489	9506	9286	----			
15	9261	9293	9162	9475	----		
16	-7648	-7224	-7114	-7340	-7104	----	

17	0551	0268	0206	0196	0033	1175	----
18	6243	6034	6261	6242	5935	-3280	1452

19	5308	5017	5037	5099	5006	-3877	2096
2903	----						
20	0945	1638	1728	1409	1092	-0108	1145
3296	1332	----					
21	0243	0996	1216	0617	0246	0627	1035
1910	0593	8666					
22	1296	1792	1729	1923	1398	-0309	2096
2978	1684	8306					
23	2086	1671	1253	1880	2008	-0557	4252
1752	1925	0795					
24	3265	3494	3676	3458	2907	-1077	1059
4802	2836	3036					
25	1931	2355	2373	1783	2330	-1432	2804
1160	3036	2475					
26	2680	2906	3159	2904	2381	-0903	1342
3584	2771	2852					
27	3185	3467	3392	2856	3439	-2163	3058
1651	3233	1922					
28	0689	1275	1315	1062	0624	0052	1746
2352	1180	8887					
29	2365	2433	2674	2678	1994	-1012	0688
3685	2458	2467					
30	2554	2613	2795	2660	2014	-1096	0438
3853	2311	2178					
31	1888	1964	2312	2243	1535	-0539	0185
2924	2141	2340					
32	2063	2149	2493	2423	1817	-0700	0670
3044	2322	2032					
33	4584	5035	5354	5077	4340	-2470	2821
6310	2174	6001					
34	2118	2490	2411	1972	2559	-1874	2289
0789	2857	1851					
35	-0448	-0456	-0264	-0303	-0178	0212	0702
-0557	-0307	1452					
36	8365	8557	8642	8499	8363	-5882	1532
6055	4979	1999					
37	-8198	-8251	-8219	-8095	-8070	8096	0345
-4565	-4247	-1214					
38	-7741	-7805	-8026	-7696	-7635	7171	0071
-5316	-3987	-1622					

 Note: Leading decimals have been omitted.

Correlation matrix (cont'd)

sort	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30					
1							
2							
3							
.							
.							
21	----						
22	7795	----					
23	-0035	0389	----				
24	2079	2187	1063	----			
25	1541	1471	2948	2362	----		
26	1912	2037	0929	8588	2286	----	
27	0635	0578	3739	3241	8586	3013	----
28	8959	8219	0525	1840	1431	1800	0805

29	1522	1433	0494	8721	1913	8866	2587
1009	----						
30	1374	1080	0867	8818	1474	9020	2391
0943	9573	----					
31	1421	1273	0295	8287	1623	8662	2143
0686	9564	9103					
32	1497	0977	0351	8319	1216	8441	2308
0811	9341	9041					
33	6619	5656	1569	3344	2008	2799	2058
6105	2326	2380					
34	0649	0580	2825	2707	9522	2545	9015
0907	2030	1774					
35	1376	1070	0805	0739	1053	0281	1090
0803	0666	0481					
36	1367	1862	2180	4088	1903	3330	3056
1746	2977	3035					
37	-0348	-1480	-1467	-2688	-1869	-2162	-2675
-0608	-2124	-2188					
38	-0635	-1246	-1561	-3553	-2336	-3167	-2917
-0961	-3443	-3416					

Note: Leading decimals have been omitted.

Correlation matrix (cont'd)

sort	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
38							
1							
.							
.							
.							
31	----						
32	9174	----					
33	1770	1911	----				
34	1720	1461	1232	----			
35	0727	0075	0196	0969	----		
36	2470	2496	5708	1908	0789	----	
37	-1939	-2026	-3966	-2074	0158	-7181	----
38	-3049	-3190	-4457	-2427	-0142	-7007	9128

Note: Leading decimals have been omitted.

Appendix I

Factor pattern before rotation¹

factor		I	II	III	IV	V	VI

sort	1	92	-21	-01	-05	05	12
	2	26	57	72	-12	-10	04
	3	86	-28	-07	-03	10	-02
	4	-78	24	08	11	29	16
	5	50	14	-04	79	-13	12
	6	-70	36	08	10	33	15
	7	90	-26	-00	-01	03	-02
	8	50	17	-05	81	-07	05
	9	41	57	-43	-22	-02	09
	10	-76	34	-09	11	27	14
	11	91	-32	05	-09	12	04
	12	91	-26	10	-08	10	11
	13	91	-23	09	-10	08	10
	14	90	-27	07	-13	12	05
	15	88	-32	08	-04	09	06
	16	-71	44	-03	07	23	03
	17	11	23	16	33	63	-29
	18	67	09	11	-21	29	08
	19	57	-04	-00	11	19	-00
	20	29	61	64	-09	-15	00
	21	18	59	71	-17	-13	03
	22	26	48	68	-17	-06	-03
	23	22	07	05	39	53	-33
	24	58	61	-37	-13	04	-02
	25	40	24	07	80	-14	07
	26	52	63	-40	-13	03	-00
	27	51	21	-05	80	-06	06
	28	21	52	74	-13	-08	27
	29	51	65	-50	-19	-04	-37
	30	50	63	-50	-21	00	-02
	31	45	64	-51	-21	-07	-05
	32	46	62	-51	-21	-01	01
	33	56	30	54	-15	22	06
	34	42	21	-02	83	-18	09
	35	05	12	09	10	-24	-84
	36	85	-14	11	-10	22	-06
	37	-83	32	06	11	12	05
	38	-85	19	00	11	11	06

¹Loadings rounded off to two significant figures and decimal points omitted.

Appendix J

Rotated factor loadings¹--six factor solution

factor		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	h ²
sort	1	.91*	.19	.05	.17	.04	.13	.91
	2	.01	.07	.95*	.06	.01	-.01	.91
	3	.87*	.16	.06	.13	.12	.03	.82
	4	-.80*	-.18	.01	-.11	.19	.26	.79
	5	.23	.10	.01	.93*	.08	.02	.92
	6	-.78*	-.07	.09	-.08	.25	.26	.76
	7	.91*	.15	.02	.18	.08	-.01	.88
	8	.22	.12	.01	.93*	.17	-.02	.95
	9	.11	.84*	.08	.04	-.04	.08	.74
	10	-.85*	.01	-.06	-.08	.18	.23	.81
	11	.95*	.09	.03	.09	.12	.09	.95
	12	.93*	.10	.11	.12	.09	.15	.93
	13	.93*	.13	.13	.11	.07	.13	.92
	14	.94*	.12	.08	.06	.11	.11	.93
	15	.93*	.05	.04	.13	.10	.10	.90
	16	.83*	.05	.05	-.09	.20	.10	.75
	17	.05	.03	.14	.19	.79*	-.04	.69
	18	.59	.28	.27	-.05	.26	.19	.60
	19	.50*	.15	.04	.21	.23	.06	.37
	20	.05	.17	.92*	.13	-.01	-.07	.89
	21	-.03	.09	.96*	.02	-.02	-.03	.93
	22	.10	.06	.88*	-.00	.06	-.06	.79
	23	.11	.00	.02	.26	.71*	-.12	.59
	24	.23	.87*	.15	.14	.09	-.00	.86
	25	.11	.07	.14	.92*	.10	-.03	.89
	26	.17	.89*	.13	.14	.07	.00	.85
	27	.21	.15	.04	.92*	.17	-.01	.95
	28	.03	.03	.94*	.04	.03	-.02	.88
	29	.15	.96*	.07	.09	.01	-.05	.97
	30	.16	.95*	.05	.06	.03	-.02	.94
	31	.11	.95*	.05	.07	-.03	-.07	.92
	32	.12	.94*	.04	.05	.00	.01	.91
	33	.43	.12	.70	.01	.26	.14	.77
	34	.13	.10	.05	.95*	.05	.03	.94
	35	.01	.03	.11	.05	.15	-.87*	.80
	36	.83*	.17	.15	.05	.26	.04	.81
	37	-.90*	-.06	-.05	-.09	.07	.08	.83
	38	-.85*	-.20	-.07	-.11	.05	.09	.78
eigens		14.99	5.85	4.36	4.06	1.50	1.09	31.85 total
% of var.		39.4	15.4	11.5	10.7	4.0	2.9	83.8
* denotes a loading significant at .28								
Note: h ² =communality								

¹Loadings rounded off to two significant figures and decimal points omitted.

Appendix K

Rotated factor loadings¹--four factor solution

factor		I	II	III	IV	h ²

sort	1	91*	19	05	17	91
	2	01	07	95*	06	91
	3	87*	16	06	13	82
	4	-80*	-18	01	-11	79
	5	23	10	01	93*	92
	6	-78*	-07	09	-08	76
	7	91*	15	02	18	88
	8	22	12	01	93*	95
	9	11	84*	08	04	74
	10	-85*	01	-06	-08	81
	11	95*	09	03	09	95
	12	93*	10	11	12	93
	13	93*	13	13	11	92
	14	94*	12	08	06	93
	15	93*	05	04	13	90
	16	83*	05	05	-09	75
	17	05	03	14	19	69
	18	59	28	27	-05	60
	19	50*	15	04	21	37
	20	05	17	92*	13	89
	21	-03	09	96*	02	93
	22	10	06	88*	-00	79
	23	11	00	02	26	59
	24	23	87*	15	14	86
	25	11	07	14	92*	89
	26	17	89*	13	14	85
	27	21	15	04	92*	95
	28	03	03	94*	04	88
	29	15	96*	07	09	97
	30	16	95*	05	06	94
	31	11	95*	05	07	92
	32	12	94*	04	05	91
	33	43	12	70	01	77
	34	13	10	05	95*	94
	35	01	03	11	05	80
	36	83*	17	15	05	81
	37	-90*	-06	-05	-09	83
	38	-85*	-20	-07	-11	78

eigens		14.99	5.85	4.36	4.06	29.26 total
% of var.		39.4	15.4	11.5	10.7	77.0
* denotes a loading significant at .28						

¹Loadings rounded off to two significant figures and decimal points omitted.

Appendix L:

Factor arrays for four factors: items 1-42

Q sort item	Ia	Ib	II	III	IV
1	-3	2	2	-5	-2
2	-2	0	4	1	1
3	-3	5	-3	-2	-2
4	-4	3	-4	-3	5
5	-5	4	-2	-4	5
6	-2	3	-2	-3	-2
7	-5	5	-3	0	0
8	-1	4	-3	-2	-1
9	0	1	-1	5	-5
10	-4	2	5	3	-1
11	-5	3	4	1	4
12	-2	1	3	-2	-1
13	-4	3	0	-4	4
14	-2	2	-2	-4	-2
15	-3	4	0	1	-1
16	0	0	1	0	0
17	0	0	-1	3	5
18	1	1	-2	2	2
19	3	-3	4	-3	2
20	3	-4	3	4	3
21	2	-1	4	4	2
22	0	-3	2	-1	1
23	2	-1	0	2	3
24	-4	4	1	4	4
25	4	-5	3	3	0
26	-1	1	1	-3	-4
27	-3	5	-3	0	-3
28	5	-5	-5	-1	-4
29	4	-4	-4	5	4
30	1	-1	-5	-1	3
31	5	-5	-5	5	-5
32	1	-2	2	4	-5
33	2	-4	-4	1	-3
34	5	-2	-4	-2	1
35	4	-2	0	2	3
36	3	-1	1	2	1
37	-1	-3	-1	-5	0
38	2	-4	5	0	2
39	1	2	3	-4	-4
40	-1	0	5	-5	-3
41	3	-2	2	-1	-4
42	4	-3	1	3	-3

Factor arrays for four factors: items 43-84

Q sort item	Ia	Ib	II	III	IV
43	-1	0	4	2	-4
44	-4	2	-5	4	-1
45	-5	4	0	4	1
46	-4	4	-3	3	5
47	-1	1	-4	1	-2
48	-5	5	-5	-2	5
49	-2	2	-4	1	-1
50	-1	1	-3	5	-2
51	-5	3	5	5	-3
52	-4	4	1	0	1
53	-2	0	-2	0	0
54	-2	3	-1	-3	-1
55	1	2	-4	-3	-3
56	-3	5	3	-5	0
57	0	3	1	0	-5
58	-4	2	-3	-1	4
59	-3	5	-1	-3	0
60	3	-3	1	-4	-3
61	2	-5	-2	-2	5
62	2	-3	-4	-4	3
63	3	-4	2	-4	2
64	5	-3	-1	-1	-4
65	2	-4	3	-1	3
66	3	-5	2	2	4
67	0	-1	5	-2	3
68	-1	4	3	-1	4
69	1	-2	2	1	2
70	4	-2	-3	-2	0
71	-2	0	4	3	4
72	4	-3	0	1	2
73	5	-5	-1	-3	3
74	5	-4	0	2	-3
75	-3	1	2	4	-2
76	-3	1	-2	4	1
77	0	-1	5	0	-1
78	1	-1	3	5	-4
79	0	-1	4	-4	2
80	3	-2	-5	3	1
81	4	-4	1	3	-5
82	4	0	-2	-5	-5
83	1	-2	0	-5	-4
84	2	0	1	2	-2

Appendix M

Q sort statements rank-ordered according to factor group

Q Sort Statements:	Factors	Scores				
		Ia	Ib	II	III	IV
1) He asked me out because he was attracted to Chinese women. He told me he found Chinese women exotic and sensual.		-3	2	2	-5	-2
2) He found it difficult to get to know me. He felt I didn't reveal enough information about myself.		-2	0	4	1	1
3) He treated me like a servant. He assumed I didn't mind cooking and cleaning up after him.		-3	5	-3	-2	-2
4) He expected me to "put out." He thought he could have his way with me.		-4	3	-4	-3	5
5) He wasn't sensitive to my needs. He made all the decisions on what we did without consulting me. He assumed I had no preference and did not bother to ask for my input.		-5	4	-2	-4	5
6) I usually didn't have much to say around him, he took this as being quiet and shy. He acted surprised whenever I spoke up.		-2	3	-2	-3	-2
7) He didn't take me seriously. He assumed I didn't know much about life and what's going on in the world.		-5	5	-3	0	0
8) He would offer opinions on what I should or shouldn't do. I felt he wanted to control what I did, where I did it, with whom, etc.		-1	4	-3	-2	-1
9) He constantly told me how attractive and desirable I was.		0	1	-1	5	-5
10) He thought I would be good at math and sciences.		-4	2	5	3	-1
11) He thought I was very hard-working because I had put a lot of time and effort into what I did.		-5	3	4	1	4
12) At times, he would accuse me of trying to use my "feminine charm" to get my way.		-2	1	3	-2	-1
13) He assumed I was sexually experienced.		-4	3	0	-4	4
14) He was very protective of me, he thought I needed to be taken care of.		-2	2	-2	-4	-2
15) He never thought I would consider seeing anyone else but him.		-3	4	0	1	-1
16) He assumed I would be family oriented and participate in family related things.		0	0	1	0	0
17) It didn't matter to him that I'm Chinese.		0	0	-1	3	5

18)	He thought we were very compatible. He didn't have any problems understanding me.	1	1	-2	2	2
19)	He treated me like an equal. We often discussed many things and made decisions together.	3	-3	4	-3	2
20)	He didn't think I fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women (quiet, passive, submissive).	3	-4	3	4	3
21)	He knew I had my quiet days and my talkative days, he accepted my many moods. He knew I wasn't perfect.	2	-1	4	4	2
22)	He valued my opinions. He respected me and allowed me to say what's on my mind.	0	-3	2	-1	1
23)	He thought I was a free-spirit, a carefree person who was also capable of many responsibilities.	2	-1	0	2	3
24)	He never thought I was the type that constantly needed to be told how desirable I was. He assumed I already knew how he felt.	-4	4	1	4	4
25)	He never pressured me about sex.	4	-5	3	3	0
26)	He was never surprised at anything I did. He would expect just about anything from me.	-1	1	1	-3	-4
27)	He assumed I was sexually inexperienced and innocent.	-3	5	-3	0	-3
28)	He never felt threatened by me. He knew I would never hurt him intentionally.	5	-5	-5	-1	-4
29)	He asked me out because of my personality, not because I'm Chinese.	4	-4	-4	5	4
30)	He told me I was easy to "read." He thought I wasn't very good at hiding my feelings.	1	-1	-5	-1	3
31)	He treated me like a princess. He was very sensitive to my needs and would do everything possible to keep me happy.	5	-5	-5	5	-5
32)	He was afraid to touch me because he thought I would reject him.	1	-2	2	4	-5
33)	He always let me make the final decision. If we disagreed, he would give in without discussion.	2	-4	-4	1	-3
34)	He thought I was very bubbly and talkative. He was worried when I was quiet.	5	-2	-4	-2	1
35)	He thought I was very knowledgeable and worldly because of my many different interests.	4	-2	0	2	3
36)	He thought I was head-strong and independent and did not need anyone to look after me.	3	-1	1	2	1
37)	He hardly ever complimented me on my looks. I felt insecure because of this.	-1	-3	-1	-5	0

38)	He knew I was very open and honest with him, whether he liked it or not.	2	-4	5	0	2
39)	He often thought I was bitchy and moody.	1	2	3	-4	4
40)	He was disappointed that I didn't fit into the popular stereotype of Chinese women (quiet, submissive, etc).	-1	0	5	-5	-3
41)	He could never picture me as a "housewife" type, cooking or cleaning up after him.	3	-2	2	-1	-4
42)	He thought I was aggressive and demanding because I went after things instead of waiting for them to happen.	4	-3	1	3	-3
43)	I found it hard to say what's on my mind.	-1	0	4	2	-4
44)	He usually made the first move and in order to keep him satisfied I would let him get as far as he wanted.	-4	2	-5	4	-1
45)	I found it easier to hide my feelings. I was secretive, I didn't want him to know too much about me.	-5	4	0	4	1
46)	I was supportive of the choices he made and the things he did even if I didn't understand or agree with him.	-4	4	-3	3	5
47)	I would wait at home for him to call before making any plans.	-1	1	-4	1	-2
48)	I stroked his ego a lot. I would pamper and fuss over him, I was sensitive to his needs and would do things that I thought he wanted me to do.	-5	5	-5	-2	5
49)	I let him make the final decisions on what we do, I usually gave in to him anyways.	-2	2	-4	1	-1
50)	I felt tongue-tied and nervous around him and in social situations. I didn't like all that attention focused on me.	-1	1	-3	5	-2
51)	I would "tease" him in a seductive way, I enjoyed seeing him squirm, this made me feel sexy and in control.	-5	3	5	5	-3
52)	I used my "feminine charm" to get my way. I didn't see anything wrong with that since it was one of the few ways I could persuade him.	-4	4	1	0	1
53)	I enjoyed the special attention I received as a Chinese woman. This set me apart from other women.	-2	0	-2	0	0
54)	He made me feel safe and protected. I felt lost if I wasn't dating someone.	-2	3	-1	-3	-1
55)	I felt it was right to let him pay for everything on our dates.	1	2	-4	-3	-3

56)	I enjoyed cooking for him. I liked to "play house" and pretend to be his wife (although I didn't tell him that).	-3	5	3	-5	0
57)	I couldn't believe I was actually seeing him. I never thought I would be so lucky.	0	3	1	0	-5
58)	I picked up after him a lot. It felt good to help him out.	-4	2	-3	-1	4
59)	I was more intelligent than he was but I tried to hide it.	-3	5	-1	-3	0
60)	I usually didn't have any problem discussing what was on my mind.	3	-3	1	-4	-3
61)	We had a mutual understanding when it came to the physical aspect of our relationship.	2	-5	-2	-2	5
62)	I always tried to be as honest and tactful as the situation permitted.	2	-3	-4	-4	3
63)	There was a lot of "give and take." We took turns doing things for each other.	3	-4	2	-4	2
64)	We made all decisions together. We did everything this way.	5	-3	-1	-1	-4
65)	I took his feelings into consideration but I always remained true to myself.	2	-4	3	-1	3
66)	I was his equal, he listened to my point of view. In arguments and discussions I would never take his side unless I agreed with it.	3	-5	2	2	4
67)	I got enjoyment out of social situations, but I was also content to sit back and listen to others.	0	-1	5	-2	3
68)	I was selective about what I revealed to him. I didn't think he needed to know absolutely everything about me.	-1	4	3	-1	4
69)	I was capable of handling anything that came my way but it was nice to rely on him sometimes to take care of things for me.	1	-2	2	1	2
70)	Being Chinese didn't set me apart from others. I'm just a person like everyone else.	4	-2	-3	-2	0
71)	We took turns paying for our outings. I felt it was only fair.	-2	0	4	3	4
72)	I had to have my say in decisions and discussions. I'm not one to keep my mouth shut.	4	-3	0	1	2
73)	I was not his sex toy. I made it clear to him that I did not want to be touched, unless I said so.	5	-5	-1	-3	3
74)	I was direct and honest, no matter what the consequences.	5	-4	0	2	-3

75)	If someone else better came along, I would have dropped him. I wasn't that "devoted" to him.	-3	1	2	4	-2
76)	I wouldn't nurture or "mother" him, I didn't have a need to.	-3	-1	-2	4	1
77)	When my mind was made up, he couldn't change it. I was stubborn that way.	0	-1	5	0	-1
78)	I did whatever I wanted. I always put myself first before anyone or anything else.	1	-1	3	5	-4
79)	I actually enjoyed arguing and fighting with him. I think at times I was being difficult on purpose.	0	-1	4	-4	2
80)	I thrive in social situations. I've been described as talkative and out-going.	3	-2	-5	3	1
81)	I was able to take care of myself. I didn't need him to protect me from anything.	4	-4	1	3	-5
82)	I was never sure if he found me desirable.	4	0	-2	-5	-5
83)	I let him know that I was smarter than him.	1	-2	0	-5	-4
84)	I didn't fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women (quiet, submissive, passive, etc.).	2	0	1	2	-2

Appendix N

Defining Q sort statements for each factor group

Factor Ia:

Q sort statements with a factor score of +5

- 64) We made all decisions together. We did everything this way.
- 73) I was not his sex toy. I made it clear to him that I did not want to be touched, unless I said so.
- 74) I was direct and honest, no matter what the consequences.

Q sort statements with a factor score of +4

- 25) He never pressured me about sex.
- 29) He asked me out because of my personality, not because I'm Chinese.
- 70) Being Chinese didn't set me apart from others. I'm just a person like everyone else.
- 72) I had to have my say in decisions and discussions. I'm not one to keep my mouth shut.
- 81) I was able to take care of myself. I didn't need him to protect me from anything.

Q sort statements with a factor score of +3

- 19) He treated me like an equal. We often discussed many things and made decisions together.
- 20) He didn't think I fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women (quiet, passive, submissive).
- 41) He could never picture me as a "housewife" type, cooking or cleaning up after him.
- 60) I usually didn't have any problem discussing what was on my mind.
- 63) There was a lot of "give and take." We took turns doing things for each other.
- 66) I was his equal, he listened to my point of view. In arguments and discussions I would never take his side unless I agreed with it.
- 80) I thrive in social situations. I've been described as talkative and out-going.

Factor Ib:

Q sort statements with a factor score of +5

- 3) He treated me like a servant. He assumed I didn't mind cooking and cleaning up after him.
- 7) He didn't take me seriously. He assumed I didn't know much about life and what's going on in the world.
- 27) He assumed I was sexually inexperienced and innocent.
- 48) I stroked his ego a lot. I would pamper and fuss over him, I was sensitive to his needs and would do things that I thought he wanted me to do.
- 56) I enjoyed cooking for him, I liked to "play house" and pretend to be his wife (although I didn't tell him that).
- 59) I was more intelligent than he was but I tried to hide it.

Q sort statements with a factor score of +4

- 5) He wasn't sensitive to my needs. He made all the decisions on what we did without consulting me. He assumed I had no preference and did not bother to ask for my input.
- 8) He would offer opinions on what I should or shouldn't do. I felt he wanted to control what I did, where I did it, with whom, etc.
- 15) He never thought I would consider seeing anyone else but him.
- 45) I found it easier to hide my feelings. I was secretive, I didn't want him to know too much about me.
- 46) I was supportive of the choices he made and the things he did even if I didn't understand or agree with him.
- 52) I used my "feminine charm" to get my way. I didn't see anything wrong with that since it was one of the few ways I could persuade

him.

- 68) I was selective about what I revealed to him. I didn't think he needed to know absolutely everything about me.

Q sort statements with a factor score of +3

- 4) He expected me to "put out." He thought he could have his way with me.
 6) I usually didn't have much to say around him, he took this as being quiet and shy. He acted surprised whenever I spoke up.
 11) He thought I was very hard-working because I had put a lot of time and effort into what I did.
 13) He assumed I was sexually experienced.
 51) I would "tease" him in a seductive way, I enjoyed seeing him squirm, this made me feel sexy and in control.
 57) I couldn't believe I was actually seeing him. I never thought I would be so lucky.

Q sort statements with a factor score of -4

- 20) He didn't think I fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women (quiet, passive, submissive).

- 29) He asked me out because of my personality, not because I'm Chinese.

Q sort statements with a factor score of -5

- 25) He never pressured me about sex.
 73) I was not his sex toy. I made it clear to him that I did not want to be touched, unless I said so.

Factor II:

Q sort statements with a factor score of +5

- 10) He thought I would be good at math and sciences.
 40) He was disappointed that I didn't fit into the popular stereotype of Chinese women (quiet, submissive, etc).
 51) I would "tease" him in a seductive way, I enjoyed seeing him squirm, this made me feel sexy and in control.

Q sort statements with a factor score of +4

- 2) He found it difficult to get to know me. He felt I didn't reveal enough information about myself.
 11) He thought I was very hard-working because I had put a lot of time and effort into what I did.
 19) He treated me like an equal. We often discussed many things and made decisions together.
 43) I found it hard to say what's on my mind.

Q sort statements with a factor score of +3

- 12) At times, he would accuse me of trying to use my "feminine charm" to get my way.
 20) He didn't think I fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women (quiet, passive, submissive).
 25) He never pressured me about sex.
 56) I enjoyed cooking for him, I liked to "play house" and pretend to be his wife (although I didn't tell him that).
 65) I took his feelings into consideration but I always remained true to myself.
 68) I was selective about what I revealed to him. I didn't think he needed to know absolutely everything about me.
 78) I did whatever I wanted. I always put myself first before anyone or anything else.

Factor III:

Q sort statements with a factor score of +5

- 29) He asked me out because of my personality, not because I'm Chinese.
 50) I felt tongue-tied and nervous around him and in social situations. I didn't like all that attention focused on me.
 51) I would "tease" him in a seductive way, I enjoyed seeing him squirm,

this made me feel sexy and in control.

Q sort statements with a factor score of +4

- 20) He didn't think I fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women (quiet, passive, submissive).
- 32) He was afraid to touch me because he thought I would reject him.
- 44) He usually made the first move and in order to keep him satisfied I would let him get as far as he wanted.
- 45) I found it easier to hide my feelings. I was secretive, I didn't want him to know too much about me.
- 75) If someone else better came along, I would have dropped him. I wasn't that "devoted" to him.
- 76) I wouldn't nurture or "mother" him, I didn't have a need to.

Q sort statements with a factor score of +3

- 10) He thought I would be good at math and sciences.
- 17) It didn't matter to him that I'm Chinese.
- 25) He never pressured me about sex.
- 46) I was supportive of the choices he made and the things he did even if I didn't understand or agree with him.

Factor IV:

Q sort statements with a factor score of +5

- 4) He expected me to "put out." He thought he could have his way with me.
- 6) I usually didn't have much to say around him, he took this as being quiet and shy. He acted surprised whenever I spoke up.
- 17) It didn't matter to him that I'm Chinese.
- 46) I was supportive of the choices he made and the things he did even if I didn't understand or agree with him.
- 48) I stroked his ego a lot. I would pamper and fuss over him, I was sensitive to his needs and would do things that I thought he wanted me to do.
- 61) We had a mutual understanding when it came to the physical aspect of our relationship.

Q sort statements with a factor score of +4

- 11) He thought I was very hard-working because I had put a lot of time and effort into what I did.
- 13) He assumed I was sexually experienced.
- 29) He asked me out because of my personality, not because I'm Chinese.
- 58) I picked up after him a lot. It felt good to help him out.
- 66) I was his equal, he listened to my point of view. In arguments and discussions I would never take his side unless I agreed with it.
- 68) I was selective about what I revealed to him. I didn't think he needed to know absolutely everything about me.

Q sort statements with a factor score of +3

- 20) He didn't think I fit the popular stereotype of Chinese women (quiet, passive, submissive).
- 73) I was not his sex toy. I made it clear to him that I did not want to be touched, unless I said so.

Vita Auctoris

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